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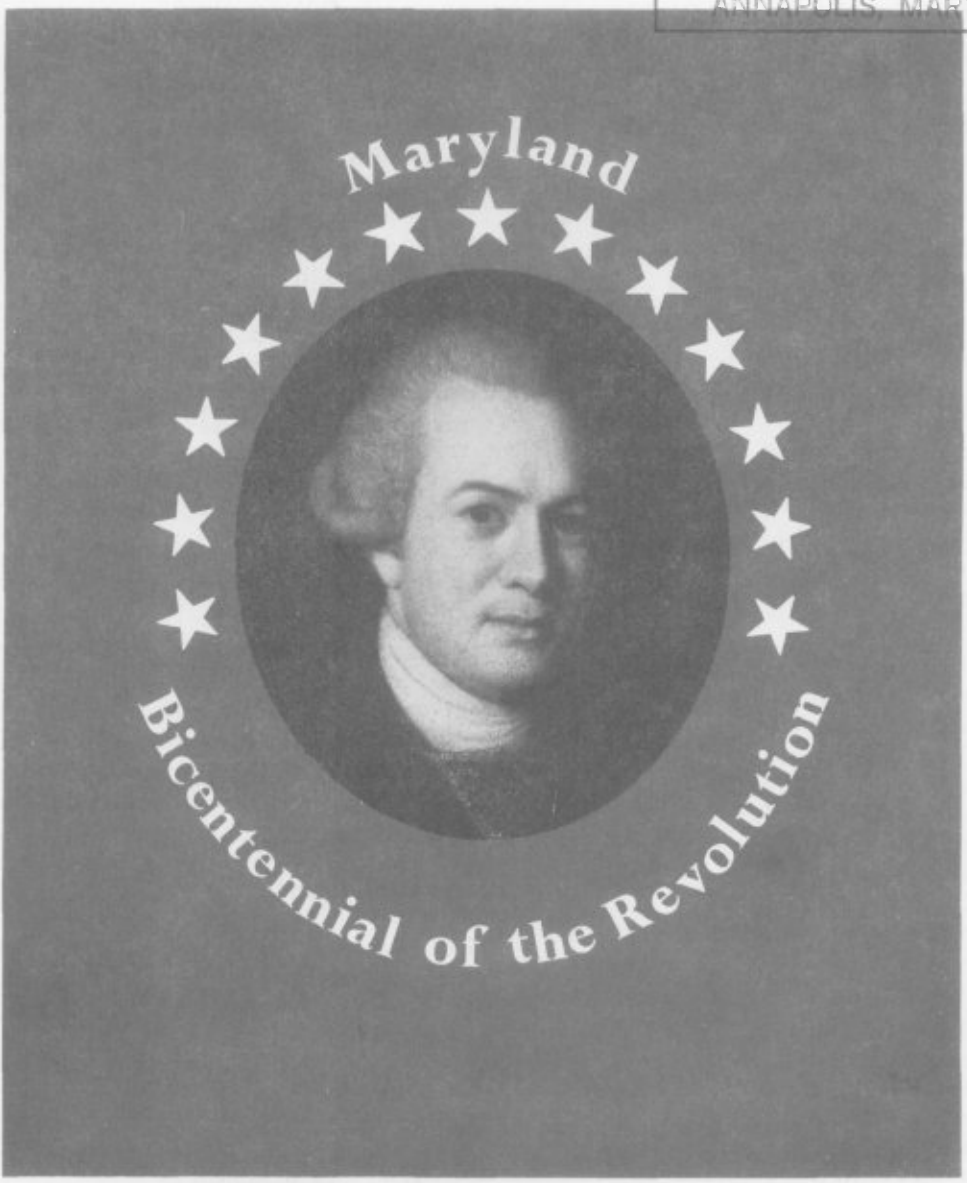

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THE EDITOR'S PAGE

With this number I become the editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and it seems obligatory that I make clear my conception of the *MHM* and my task as editor. Those who have compared ours with other state historical journals generally agree that the *MHM* is among the best. Pinched though the Society is for funds, successive directors have recognized the importance of a first-rate periodical for Maryland history. The function of a historical society is to collect, preserve, and communicate the story of the past, and for the multitude who have never come to the Library and Gallery, the *MHM* is the primary medium of historical dialogue in this state. The study of Maryland history is currently in the midst of what can only be termed a local renaissance, and the *MHM*—along with the superb collections of the Enoch Pratt, the Hall of Records, and the Society—has contributed to this development. For most authors of Marylandia, academic or amateur, local or distant, this is *the* periodical for their product, and all students of Maryland history turn to us. Previous editors have expanded the scope of the *MHM*, made handsome use of illustrations, and achieved high standards for its contents. Under my direction the *MHM* will strive to continue these traditions.

Maryland history broadly defined is our subject, and we solicit articles on all aspects and eras of the state's past. Our criteria for publication will be a blend of sound scholarship, literary grace, importance of topic, and general interest. Professional historians and amateur chroniclers alike will be expected to base their work upon accurate research, document their discoveries to aid fellow searchers, and to write with clarity and precision. We will try to avoid academic pedantry as vigorously as nostalgic antiquarianism, and will insist on respectable prose, not colloquialisms. The readership of the *MHM* is varied; we propose to offer a varied fare with one exception: we want to publish the very best articles available. While no magazine can be better than the contributions received, we can seek out good articles and improve those that are submitted.

Much good Maryland history is now being written, and we must attract those authors who for any reason have not considered the *MHM*. When articles do arrive, they will be promptly read by the editor and at least one specialist in the field. Such refereeing should guarantee accuracy and quality. The sole criteria for acceptance of an article *is* its quality; we are less concerned about a topic in itself than the way the topic is handled. As editor I will submit each accepted article to a close reading, trying to correct the grammar and spelling, make each sentence clear and precise, minimize repetition and clichés, and in general improve the organization and style as best I can. Some errors and ungraceful phrases will no doubt persist, but that is the challenge of editing.

JOHN B. BOLES

John Coode, Perennial Rebel

DAVID W. JORDAN

THOUSANDS OF HARD-WORKING, GOD-FEARING MEN AND WOMEN JOURNEYED TO THE New World in the seventeenth century. They soberly and industriously chopped their homes out of the wilderness, planted their fields, founded their churches and governments, and generally laid the foundations of colonial America. Most of these ordinary figures remain largely unknown as individuals. More famous, or infamous, are the iconoclasts among them, who, for good or bad, challenged the status quo their fellow colonists were arduously establishing. Men and women such as Thomas Morton of Merrymount, Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams, and Nathaniel Bacon have been more successful in leaving records of their lives and in capturing the fascination and attention of later Americans. Even among the rebels of society, historical attention has been unduly selective and too focused on Massachusetts and Virginia. One overlooked individual, deserving of equal attention, is John Coode of Maryland, one of the most colorful figures in American colonial history. Few disturbers of governments can match his record.

A perennial malcontent, Coode's career of thirty-six years in the New World encompassed involvement in no less than five significant opposition movements against established authority; moreover, he was a primary figure in three of these uprisings, including the revolution of 1689 which is sometimes called "Coode's Rebellion." Yet this dramatic character, so central to much of the history of late seventeenth century Maryland, remains largely a stranger even to dedicated students of Chesapeake colonial history. Historians have generally ignored Coode or have discussed him briefly and then almost exclusively with reference to the events of 1689 to 1692.[1]

Dr. David W. Jordan is chairman of the History Department, Grinnell College.

1. For many years, two overlooked master's theses provided the only detailed accounts of this colorful figure. The Reverend Columba J. Devlin did especially admirable detective work in establishing most of what is known about John Coode's early years for the study "John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689," (M.A. thesis, Catholic University, 1952). Gene Perkins Thornton, "The Life and Opinions of Captain John Coode, Gentleman," (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1952) concentrates more on the Maryland period of Coode's career. Briefer biographical attention has been accorded Coode in Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Lebanon, Pa., 1956), pp. 173–76; Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, 4 vols. (New Haven, 1934–1938), 2: 378–79; and Michael Kammen, "The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (Dec., 1960): 292–333. Two older studies of "Coode's Rebillion"

Such neglect was certainly not present in John Coode's lifetime. Indeed, his contemporaries were unable to ignore him. It is unlikely that colonists felt so strongly about any other figure. Men associated Coode with the great and notorious rebels and revolutionary leaders of the past. In obvious disdain, Charles Calvert called Coode a "rank Baconist."[2] Governor Francis Nicholson disparagingly termed him "a diminutive Ferguson in point of Government; and a Hobbist or worse, in point of religion."[3] Coode himself proudly adopted the epithet of "Massinello," while other Marylanders used the same term against him derisively.[4] Many alliances in seventeenth century Maryland originated in efforts either to support or to oppose "Parson, Captain or Col. Coode," as he was variously known. Some colonists praised him as the individual most responsible for saving Protestants and Protestantism in Maryland and for defeating traitors to the English crown.[5] Still others described Coode in less favorable terms as "Blasphemous," "libellous," "a man of a most flagitious life and conversation as to Drunkenness, swearing, and all such debaucheries," all in all a man whose morals rendered him "not fit for human, much less Christian society."[6]

Coode would provide a most intriguing case study for new practitioners of psychohistory. Undoubtedly, his unusual physical appearance helped to shape his rebellious personality. A proclamation for his arrest in 1698 described Coode as deformed and club-footed with a "face resembling that of a baboon or monkey."[7] By repeated testimony, he was defiant, quick to anger, impious, argumentative, boastful, theatrical, and given to a weakness for alcohol which further enforced

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described his role in that uprising: Bernard C. Steiner, "The Protestant Revolution in Maryland," *American Historical Association: Annual Report for the Year 1897* (Washington, D.C., 1898), pp. 279–353, an essentially negative appraisal of Coode, and Francis Edgar Sparks, *Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, XIV Series XI-XII (Baltimore, 1896) which is more dispassionate. Two very recent books focus more extensively on Coode. David S. Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America* (New York, 1972) admirably places Coode and his rebellion in the context of contemporary uprisings elsewhere in the colonies, while Lois Green Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca, 1974), provides the most complete account to date of this phase of Coode's career.

2. William H. Browne et al., eds., *The Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883—) 5: 281. Evoking the analogy of Nathaniel Bacon's role in Virginia in 1676, Calvert employed the term in reference to Coode and Josias Fendall for their alleged conspiracy in 1681.

3. *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 491–92. Robert Ferguson, the "Plotter," was one of the chief contrivers of the Rye House Plot and a major supporter of the Duke of Monmouth against James II in 1685. He supported William of Orange in 1688, but later denounced the Glorious Revolution and became a Jacobite. Ferguson's activities eventually led to his commitment to Newgate in 1704 on the charge of treason, although he was never tried. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Ferguson, Robert."

4. "Coode calls himself Massinello, but vaunts he has outraigned him" (*Archives of Maryland*, 8: 162). Thommaso Aniello, called Masaniello, was a peasant fish peddler who led a revolt of the common people in Naples in 1647. Masaniello became captain general and developed into quite a despot, eventually being assassinated by some of his former supporters. His name was frequently invoked in the colonies in 1689 (Lovejoy, *Glorious Revolution*, pp. 295–98).

5. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 128, 135–36; 17: 30.

6. *Ibid.*, 20: 490; 25: 80. See also *ibid.*, 8: 128–29, 133, 135–36.

7. The proclamation is published in H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 2 vols. (Richmond, 1925–1927), 1: 418–19.

all of his other characteristics.[8] His first wife was a widow fifteen years his senior and subject to fits of madness. Coode pursued several radically different careers, the ministry, farming, and perhaps the law, but his greatest pride and satisfaction apparently came in his military exploits and in a publicly boasted ability to bring about revolutions of government. Yet this rebel could obviously be charming when he wished. He was a man of considerable talents to whom fellow colonists repeatedly looked for leadership, and he always managed successfully to attain public office after each rebellious outburst or ignominious defeat. While able to regain or to hold the confidence of his peers, Coode nonetheless seemed congenitally unable to perform satisfactorily for any appreciable length of time in a position of authority. He soon assumed the role of adversary, and once in that role, he seldom employed dispassionate logic or reason as his weapons.

Maryland records indicate that Coode was born in approximately 1648 and that he served as a minister in Penryn, Cornwall, until being "turned out" shortly before he came to America.[9] Otherwise, the New World record is silent on Coode's life prior to 1672. English sources are more illuminating. John Coode, the Penryn religious rebel, was undoubtedly the same John Coode, second son of John and Grace Robins Coode, who was baptized in the parish of St. Gluveas in Cornwall on April 3, 1648. Coode's father, an attorney and solicitor in Penryn, was descended from an old and respected family in this area. Grace Coode also came from a prominent family; her father and two brothers were likewise lawyers.[10]

At age sixteen John Coode matriculated as a "pauper puer" at Exeter College, Oxford, where he studied for two years. He probably never earned his baccalaureate degree, but he was referred to later as having received a "liberal education." Anthony Sparrow, the bishop of Exeter, ordained Coode as a deacon on July 5, 1668. Under normal procedure, advancement to the priesthood would have ensued within the following year, but the ordination books contain no reference to his subsequent orders. However, Coode later admitted in Maryland that he was both a priest and deacon. A September 19, 1669, entry in the ordination book that "Robert Coode, literatus among those now deacon" had risen to the priesthood probably refers in actuality to John Coode. There is no other mention of a Robert Coode in the records of this period, and the timing would be correct for John Coode, who was a deacon and apparently a literatus, one ordained without an academic degree after a year or two of study at a university.[11]

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8. For example, see *Archives of Maryland*, 5: 329–32; 15: 392; 22: 436.
9. Coode testified in 1704 that he was "aged 56 years or thereabouts" (Chancery Court Records PC, f. 548, Hall of Records, Annapolis). Unless otherwise noted all manuscript materials cited in this essay are to be found at the Hall of Records. Marylander Robert Smith had known Coode in Penryn (*Archives of Maryland*, 20: 469).
10. Devlin, "John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689," pp. 4–7, 72; J. L. Vivian and H. H. Drake, *Visitation of the County of Cornwall* (London, 1874), pp. 46–48.
11. Devlin, "John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689," pp. 7–15; Joseph Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891–92), 1: 319; *Archives of Maryland*, 20: 491, 493; Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, p. 174.

Coode returned to Cornwall, where he began service as a priest at Penryn, perhaps in a chapel under the jurisdiction of the vicar of St. Gluveas, the nearest parish. His stay was relatively brief, and nothing is known of these three years immediately prior to Coode's departure for Maryland. Here perhaps he first displayed the rebelliousness which would cause such trouble later, but the precise causes for his "being turned out" remain a mystery. It was nonetheless a critical turning point in his life. Not only did he leave England, he also abandoned the ministry, although it is true that he officiated briefly as a clergyman in St. George's Church in Maryland soon after his arrival.[12] Probably the disturbing scarcity of clergymen of any denomination prompted Coode to perform a minimum of baptisms, weddings, and funerals. At that time there were probably only three Protestant churches in the entire colony of some 16,000 people scattered over a wide geographical area.[13] Coode was to remain at least nominally an Anglican, but his religious allegiances or lack thereof perplexed his contemporaries and have confused historians. Some scholars, for example, have asserted that Coode and his children became Catholics or even that he was trained in the priesthood of the Roman Church. There is no evidence to support either claim. Coode's idle boast in 1690 that he could get along very well in France or Ireland, for he "could make a popish Masse" most likely was an arrogant claim resting on the frequent opportunities he had to observe masses and priestly functions in his heavily Catholic neighborhood rather than upon any official training. Other evidence usually cited, primarily references to his frequent associations with Catholics in his later political activities, provides no indication that Coode himself had converted, nor that any of his children became Catholics, and other evidence testifies to the contrary.[14]

The precise circumstances accompanying Coode's migration are unknown. Perhaps his situation was similar to that of the rebel Nathaniel Bacon, whose father, deciding that the New World was the best place for his ne'er-do-well son, gave Nathaniel sufficient money and shipped him off to Virginia.[15] Coode was approximately twenty-four years of age and an unsuccessful clergyman when he reached Maryland in the spring of 1672. The first appearance of his name in the colony's records indicates that his was not a pleasant arrival, but an appropriate

12. Devlin, "John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689," p. 15; *Archives of Maryland*, 19: 479.
13. *Ibid.*, 5: 130–34. Coode complained in 1690 of proprietary failure to support the Church of England (*Ibid.*, 8: 225). See also Percy G. Skirven, *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923).
14. In later years, Coode was more an atheist than a practicing Christian of any variety (*Archives of Maryland*, 23: 479–82). His son John, however, remained a devoted Anglican and bequeathed land to his Anglican parish for a glebe (Wills 14, ff. 646–47). For assertions of the Coodes' Catholicism, see Edwin W. Beitzell, "Thomas Gerard and His Sons-in-Law," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 46 (1951): 206; Kammen, "Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," 323; Lovejoy, *Glorious Revolution*, p. 304. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 210 contains Coode's boast. The other citations usually given--*ibid.*, 23: 448–49, 463; 17: 217; Andrews, *Colonial Period*, 2: 378n.; and Helen W. Ridgely, *Historic Graves of Maryland* (New York, 1908)--do not substantiate the claims of a conversion.
15. Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel* (Chapel Hill, 1957), p. 18.

one for a man whose career was to be so controversial and quixotic. Coode suffered during his initial weeks in Maryland from "seasoning," an illness which afflicted many newcomers to America before they became acclimated to the area. For many it was fatal, but Coode fortunately recovered after six weeks of medical care from a Dr. John Pearce. Recovery notwithstanding, Coode was insufficiently grateful to pay his bill, and Pearce took him to court to recover 10,000 pounds of tobacco. The doctor testified he had attended Coode constantly for six weeks and had prepared "divers medicines, plaisters drinkes Cordialls and other wholesome and fitt things to cure the said John Code of the said Distemper." The jury determined that Coode should pay 50,000 pounds of tobacco and an additional 1643 pounds for court costs. Before the case was finally settled, Coode was detained briefly in prison, the first of what would become several incarcerations during his Maryland career.[16]

Coode lived for a while at Piney Point in St. George's hundred of St. Mary's County. He moved a short distance in the county to St. Clement's hundred in the fall of 1674, after marrying Susannah Slye, the forty-one-year-old widow of Robert Slye. Her husband, deceased for two years, had been one of the wealthiest and most prominent men in the colony. A merchant and owner of several thousand acres of land, Slye had served as an assembly delegate, speaker of the lower house, militia officer, justice, and councillor. In 1660 he had briefly incurred the proprietor's disfavor for supporting Josias Fendall's abortive rebellion.[17] Rebellion seemed to attend the men in Susannah Slye's life. Her father, Thomas Gerard, was also a man of independence and opposition to authority. Gerard had migrated to Maryland in 1637 and received the grant of St. Clement's Manor. He eventually owned 11,400 acres. Catholic himself, Gerard resisted the efforts to make his Protestant wife and children worship at Catholic services. He worked cooperatively with the proprietary government for some years as a councillor and manor lord, before he too broke with Cecilius Calvert in 1660 and supported Fendall. When the rebellion failed, Gerard lost much of his land, was heavily fined, and was forbidden thereafter to hold office or exercise a voice in elections. He eventually moved to Virginia, where he died in 1673. His children, and their husbands and wives, inherited his feuds with the proprietary family over lands, taxes, and religion.[18]

The strife and instability of personal and public affairs during these years had greatly affected Susannah Slye. Since the death of her oldest son in 1659, she had suffered from attacks of madness, a condition undoubtedly aggravated by the deaths of her husband and father so closely together.[19] It was perhaps in grief over these deaths that she was drawn to the new, sometime minister in her

16. *Archives of Maryland*, 51: 149–50; 55: 393–94.
17. *Ibid.*, 55: 395–96, 399. On Slye, see *ibid.*, 1: 359, 380–83, 460; 2: 8, 156–67; 3: 314–15; 10: 412; 53: 76; 60: 63; Wills 1, ff. 422–25; Testamentary Proceedings 5, ff. 152–90.
18. Beitzell, "Thomas Gerard and His Sons-in-Law," pp. 189–206.
19. *Archives of Maryland*, 20: xiv.

county. Coode, an ambitious immigrant, was perhaps in turn attracted by the wealth and status which this vulnerable widow represented.

Coode, a seeker of status and public attention, would devote a goodly part of his energies throughout his life to the pursuit of economic independence and prosperity. Not even his profitable marriage to the wealthy Mrs. Slye brought sufficient security, for, according to the provisions of Robert Slye's will, most of her assets would eventually belong to her children.[20] Even those assets rightfully hers were temporarily in question. Soon after the wedding, Coode and his wife entered a series of court suits against her relatives and business associates to settle some questions arising from Slye's estate; Coode particularly hoped to enlarge Susannah's, and now his, possessions. In particular, he sought half of "Bushwood," the 1,000 acres which Gerard had given to the Slyes upon their marriage. Robert Slye's will stipulated that Susannah and her son Gerard Slye should hold "Bushwood" jointly during her natural life and then it would go in its entirety to Gerard. Coode, now seeking a petitioning of the land, contended that Slye had not adhered to the terms of his father's will. In all likelihood, the son had been administering the entire estate during his mother's widowhood, taking care of her needs but not dividing the profits of the plantation with her. Such an arrangement was clearly no longer satisfactory once she had remarried. The court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, and one-half of "Bushwood" including the dwelling place was officially consigned to Mrs. Coode with the understanding that it would revert to Gerard Slye at her death.[21]

The Coodes also successfully entered suits against Justinian Gerard, Susannah's younger brother, and against Robert Sampson to recover debts owed her. Concurrently Gerard and Thomas Lomax brought suit against Susannah to recover debts she owed them. Gradually the tangled finances of the widow were put in order.[22] At the end of the decade, however, the Coodes were once again in court with respect to the Slye estate. This time they sought to reclaim control of "Rich Neck," 500 acres which Robert Slye had bequeathed to his minor daughters, Elizabeth and Frances. The Coodes successfully recovered this plantation from Gerard Slye, as well as 8,000 pounds of tobacco in damages.[23]

Through these various suits, Coode acquired control of a sizable estate, but it was all property which belonged officially to his wife or her children and which he would lose whenever she died. Still, land currently under his management could produce sufficient profits from tobacco crops or leases to finance the purchase of land in his own name. It was probably with such revenues that Coode achieved his first independent ownership of land in 1680, "Pursimon Point," a 194-acre

20. Wills 1, f. 422–25.
21. *Archives of Maryland*, 65: 352, 409–10, 497, 506–08.
22. *Ibid.*, 395–96, 399–400, 418–19; Charles County Court and Land Records, F No. 1, f. 91. Kammen, "The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," pp. 325–27, misinterprets the nature of these interfamily disputes.
23. *Archives of Maryland*, 69: 136, 179–83, 313–15.

freehold of St. Clement's Manor which he then leased to Justinian Gerard.[24] In 1685, Coode paid caution money and received a warrant for another 500 acres, but he did not use this warrant for an actual purchase until 1701 when he patented "Second Thought."[25] In 1688 Coode petitioned the council for an opportunity to purchase any escheated land of Richard Foster, recently deceased. The council ruled that Coode was to have first refusal, and he apparently purchased some of Foster's land in the next decade.[26] Finally, at some time in the 1680s, Coode probably also bought another plantation, "Bluff Point," which he mentioned in his will. All of this land he was so diligently acquiring was located to the south and east of "Bushwood" and "Rich Neck" along the Wicomico River.[27]

Coode rapidly made his mark in Maryland politics. Opportunities were very great in the colony for a man with education or social credentials from England. Coode could depend as well on his adventuresome spirit, his leadership abilities, and his strategic marriage—all three of which were important assets in this frontier society. Coode first assumed a prominent role as a military officer, a position far removed from the priesthood he had so recently abandoned. By September 1675 he had donned his new uniform and was participating in an ill-fated expedition against the Susquehannock Indians. The Wars of the Iroquois were driving northern Indians into the Chesapeake area and creating defense problems and popular alarms in Maryland and Virginia.[28] Coode's personal role in this expedition was sufficiently satisfactory to earn him a militia captaincy by October 1676. The following month, Deputy Governor Thomas Notley commissioned Coode as naval commander of Lord Baltimore's ship of war *The Loyal Charles of Maryland.* Coode was to cruise the Potomac and Wicomico rivers to protect Maryland against invasion, robbery, and piracy. The more immediate concern, of course, was to prevent an extension of Bacon's Rebellion into Lord Baltimore's colony, especially at a time when the proprietor was absent from the province. Coode "lay then upon the water three long winter months" in defense of Maryland against what he later called "the rebellious outrages in Virginia." This was strange language from one who would soon lead similar "outrages" himself and be called a "Baconist."[29]

Prominence in the civilian sphere of government soon accompanied Coode's military advancements. During the early summer of 1676, the freeholders of St. Mary's County elected him as a delegate to the general assembly. Charles

24. *Ibid.*, 183–87.
25. Warrants, WC No. 4, f. 504; *ibid.*, A, ff. 31, 116, 130, 187, 238; *ibid.*, WD, f. 355. In 1678, Edward Blagg assigned to Coode rights for having imported seventeen servants. Patents 15, Part II, f. 45.
26. Warrants CB, f. 333. See Chancery Records, PC, ff. 473–75, and Wills 12, ff. 341–42.
27. Wills 12, ff. 341–42. Land and landholders in this area are admirably described in Barbara Lathroum, "St. Clement's Manor," Hall of Records, especially pp. 62–63, 89.
28. *Archives of Maryland*, 2: 482–83. Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel*, pp. 20–24, and Wesley Frank Craven, *The Colonies in Transition 1660–1713* (New York, 1968), pp. 125–27 discuss the impact of Indian migration.
29. Testamentary Proceedings 8, f. 242; *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 168; 17: 216–18.

Calvert, altering traditional policy, then chose to summon only two of the four elected delegates from each county. Coode, however, was one of those men receiving a writ to be present for the first session of the assembly. His fellow delegates had then dispatched him to Virginia, probably to determine the precise extent of the uprising there.[30]

Service in the legislature usually brought other appointments to the delegates, and Coode was no exception. He probably received his first commission as a justice of the peace for the county court in late 1676. By April of the following year, he was one of the ranking justices of the quorum, and by 1679 had become the presiding justice of the St. Mary's County Court.[31] Furthermore, by October of 1678 he had acquired the post of county coroner, a highly desirable patronage position.[32]

Less than a decade after arriving in Maryland, then, John Coode had attained the enviable position of a prominent young country squire. He was an important member of a very influential family network which exercised extraordinary political power in the colony's oldest county. Brother-in-law Kenelm Cheseldyne, a lawyer and Lord Baltimore's attorney general, also sat in the assembly, representing St. Mary's City.[33] Stepson Gerard Slye was already a militia captain and justice prior to his appointment as county sheriff in 1677 at age twenty-three; Coode's other brothers-in-law, Thomas and Justinian Gerard, were also local justices.[34]

Such dominance was to be short-lived. By the end of 1681, all of these men had lost their proprietary patronage and deep-seated enmity characterized their relations with the provincial government. Precisely how and why these relations soured is unknown, but there are several possible explanations. The fault may have resided with Charles Calvert. General discontent had heightened in the colony under his proprietorship. His refusal to summon all elected delegates, his defense and economic policies, and most importantly, his distribution of patronage had all encountered hostile opposition in the colony. It was charged correctly that Baltimore was displaying favoritism towards Catholics and relatives in his appointments to offices above the county level of government. Since St. Mary's County had probably the highest concentration of Catholics in the colony, Coode and his Protestant relatives perhaps surmised that they had risen as high as Calvert ever intended them to ascend. Thus frustrated ambitions may have merged with legitimate differences over governmental policies to throw Coode into opposition with his former benefactor. There was, after all, a long-standing tension between the Gerard family and the Calverts. Lord

30. *Ibid.*, 2: 481, 483, 484; 7: 119; 15: 119; 51: 183.
31. *Ibid.*, 15: 153, 224, 255.
32. *Ibid.*, 51: 243.
33. *Ibid.*, 2: 485; Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 133.
34. *Archives of Maryland*, 51: 204, 246; 15: 56, 65–67, 190; 66: 475.

Baltimore's continuation of patronage to Robert Slye after his role in the abortive rebellion of 1660 was probably an acknowledgment of Slye's powerful position as one of the wealthiest men in the colony. Following Slye's death and the Coode marriage, the proprietor may have extended further patronage to Coode, Cheseldyne, and Gerard Slye in a calculated effort, which apparently failed, to repair relations with an influential family and to ensure the allegiance of new men who had married into the family or were just coming of age.[35]

Still another attractive explanation is that John Coode had begun to display the personality and character traits of opposition and disruptiveness which periodically manifested themselves throughout his career. If so, his current role as the assertive leader of the Gerard family rendered others the victims of his rebellious behavior. As early as December 1679, Coode's home had become a haven for expressions of anti-proprietary and anti-Catholic sentiments. On that occasion, a Dr. James Barre had proclaimed to a small gathering that Councillor Henry Darnall was assembling a troop of 100 Catholics "to cutt of[f] all the Protestants in Maryland and that in three Daies time." General rumors of a Catholic conspiracy against the Protestants, usually with the aid of the Indians, had accompanied each rebellion or rumbling of discontent in recent years in the colony. Consequently, upon hearing of Barre's allegations, Baltimore did not hesitate to investigate the incident promptly. Coode and another brother-in-law, Nehemiah Blakiston, were among those men summoned to the council to testify. All witnesses generally dismissed the conversation as the ramblings of a drunken man. Barre was committed to custody for trial at the next session of the Provincial Court. Without doubt, Charles Calvert carefully noted that Barre had been a guest for over a week in the homes of Coode, Gerard Slye, and one of the Gerard brothers.[36]

In the subsequent months, Coode became more outspoken in his distrust of the proprietary government. His personal conduct also diverged considerably from what was expected of officeholders. Perhaps such aberrations in conduct account for Coode's absence from the new county court commission issued in December 1680, although he apparently regained his seat within a few weeks. If the temporary omission was a proprietary warning that Coode should mind his ways, it sadly failed. Four months later, at the court's spring session, Coode crossed his Rubicon. He behaved "so Debauchedly & Profanely that the said Court made an order that he should find Sureties for the Peace and Good Behaviour." Coode then alledgedly attacked the justices with scurrilous language and contemptuously tore up the required bond after asserting that it was for "more than they all were worth." Belittling authority was a serious offense for any Marylander in those early unstable days, and the offense was particularly serious when a

35. On disputes of this period see Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government 1689–1692*, pp. 1–45, and Lovejoy, *Glorious Revolution*, pp. 70–97.
36. *Archives of Maryland*, 15: 269–73. There is no surviving record of Barre's trial.

"gentleman" and public figure did the belittling. The Proprietor consequently stripped Coode of his commission, which only further angered the rebel. Later testimony indicated that Coode then "persisted to Machinate the Ruine of the Publick peace by forgoing and spreading false Scandalous reports, Uttering Mutinous and Seditious Speeches threatening force of ten thousand Men to subvert the Government."[37]

Within two months, Coode had found a companion in arms who shared his disgruntlement with the proprietary circle. Josias Fendall, a rather perennial rebel in his own right, had generally been inactive in politics since the failure of his abortive rebellion in 1660. He unsuccessfully attempted to re-enter public office in 1678, however, and he had been threatening serious opposition to the government since that time.[38] During the early summer of 1681, the two men struck up a quick and apparently brief association. Concern about recent marauding activities of northern Indians was the immediate occasion of their getting together. The renewal of Indian conflicts in the area had resulted in the murder of six colonists in May. New rumors had rapidly spread through the colony and fear gripped many colonists who were particularly uneasy that Catholics held so many of the militia commands and controlled the public arms. As one Virginia observer noted in July, "If a man may judge the hearts of the people by their language, they are set against the Government with much bitterness."[39]

Fendall and Coode were prepared to galvanize this widespread discontent and uneasiness. When the two men began exchanging visits in June, Fendall had already publicly asserted that the Catholics were collaborating with the Indians with "a mind to destroy all the Protestants." According to witnesses, Coode and Fendall talked about the political situation in England as well as about events in Maryland, considering the likelihood that Catholics in both places would soon suffer major setbacks. Coode particularly was quoted as vehemently swearing "God Damn all the Catholick Papists Doggs" and that he "would be revenged of them and spend the best blood in his body."[40]

These conversations eventually prompted a visit across the Potomac River to confer with Nicholas Spencer, the secretary of Virginia and no great friend of Charles Calvert. Spencer reputedly advised them to forego any active role at this time, to let the Catholics alone, and to "be quiet at home."[41] Nonetheless, rumors circulated that Fendall and Coode planned to move their families

37. *Archives of Maryland*, 15: 326; 7: 135–36.
38. *Ibid.*, 15: 192, 246–47, 249–50.
39. Extract of Letter from Virginia, July 22, 1681, in W. Noel Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies* (London, 1860–1939) *1681–1685*, no. 184; also, *Archives of Maryland*, 5: 280–81.
40. *Archives of Maryland*, 15: 388–390, 391, 399.
41. *Ibid.*, 389; 5: 280–81.

temporarily to Virginia. Baltimore, hearing of these alleged plans, dispatched Henry Darnall to arrest the two men.[42]

Accounts of the arrest differ considerably. The proprietary party claimed later that Darnall was admitted to Coode's home by servants "when it was light." Darnall then proceeded to the bedroom and informed Coode he was under arrest. After a brief resistance, Coode yielded and the arresting party then crossed the Wicomico to apprehend Fendall.[43] Sources more favorable to Coode protested the arrest of "some gentlemen in their own houses at dead of night in time of peace with force of arms and without warrants shown." In a mad fit, Susannah Coode "hectored" Lord Baltimore the day following the arrest with assertions her husband had literally been pulled out of his bed.[44] The proprietor held the two men in custody on charges of treason and the threat of a possible rebellion. Popular sentiment in the lower Western Shore counties actively opposed the arrests, and there were soon threats of armed efforts to free the prisoners. The pressure was partially successful; authorities apparently freed Coode on bail within five days, but Fendall remained in custody. The evidence implicating him in treasonous activities was more extensive, and his previous record no doubt contributed to the reluctance to set him free.[45]

It is very doubtful that a rebellion was actually underway. Virginia observers felt that Lord Baltimore's charges against the two men were unsupported and "of little weight." Some suggested that the arrests were merely one attempt to prevent participation by either Coode or Fendall in the upcoming session of the assembly, which already promised to be a heated confrontation over defense policies. It is reasonable that the proprietor preferred to risk charges of false arrest if he could forestall any potential uprising or restrain the two most likely organizers of opposition; his primary concern was to avoid a repeat of Bacon's Rebellion, and the situation bore striking resemblance to him of the events of 1676 in Virginia.[46]

When the assembly delegates did convene in St. Mary's City on August 16, 1681, Baltimore determinedly sought to prevent the seating of Coode. Calvert

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42. *Ibid.*, 15. 389–90; 20: xiii-xiv.

43. *Ibid.*, xii–xiv, a letter from Philip Calvert to Henry Meese, Dec. 29, 1681, summarizing the events of the previous summer.

44. Lord Culpeper to Lords of Trade, July 22, 1681, *Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, 1681–1685*, no. 185 (quote on the arrest); *Archives of Maryland*, 20: xiv.

45. *Ibid.*, 15: 386–91, 400–05; 20: xiv; *Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, 1681–1685*, nos. 184, 185, 195, 275. Baltimore apparently released Fendall in late August after the arrest of Lt. George Godfrey, who had attempted to lead his troop of militia in an effort to free Fendall. Godfrey was later tried, convicted of mutinous activities and sentenced to death. Baltimore subsequently commuted the death sentence to life in prison (*Archives of Maryland*, 5: 332–34). Threats of a revolt continued through the trials (*Ibid.*, 70: 104).

46. Lord Culpeper of Virginia was among those who reported to English authorities their doubts any real insurrection was afoot (*Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, 1681–1685*, nos. 185 and 195). For Baltimore's explanation of his position, see *Archives of Maryland*, 5: 280–81.

informed the lower house of the pending charges against Coode for "Mutinous & Seditious Speeches, Practices and Attempts tending to the Breach of the Peace" and then requested that Coode not be allowed to assume his seat until he "hath purged himself from what is charged upon him." Coode welcomed the opportunity to challenge Calvert and presented himself in the lower house on the second day. His fellow delegates asked him to withdraw temporarily while they debated the matter. After resolving that the charges against Coode were very general in nature and remained unproven, they inquired in what way he had disabled himself from sitting. The upper house responded that a breach of the peace or treason disabled any member; Coode stood accused of a breach of the peace and was still under bail pending his trial. Tensions were heightening by August 26 when the delegates announced their opinion that only a felony, treason, or refusing to give security for breach of peace could divest a member of sitting, and that Coode's simple breach of the peace remained only an accusation. A prompt response provided the details of Coode's previous tearing up of the St. Mary's County Court order and depositions on his "mutinous and Seditious Speeches" accompanied by an adamant request for Coode's exclusion. The new material included the charge that Coode had said he cared not a fart for Secretary William Calvert, the proprietor's cousin, "nor a Turd for the Chancellor nor the Governor neither, No (he swore by God) nor for God Almighty neither." Even this new evidence did not calm the mounting defiance of the lower house which voted to allow Coode to assume his seat, but did assure Lord Baltimore that Coode "shall not do his Lordship any disservice in his house." Two days later, the upper house made a final effort and sent a transcript of Coode's statements and activities at the spring court, stressing his refusal to give security. Apparently this likewise had little effect, for it constitutes the last mention of Coode's eligibility in the journals of this session of the assembly.[47]

Coode undoubtedly retained his seat in this first effort of what would eventually become four attempts during his legislative career to bar him from representing the freeholders who had elected him. While he most likely continued to attend the session, it would not appear he participated actively in its deliberations, for his name does not appear again in the journal. He was in attendance at the subsequent session of the assembly in November before his trial.[48]

Both Coode and Fendall came before the Provincial Court in November. A jury found the latter guilty of "seditious words without force or practice." Because of his past record of rebellion, the court banished Fendall from the province. He moved shortly thereafter to Virginia, where he died in 1688.[49] The specific charge

47. *Ibid.*, 7: 112, 113, 115, 116, 119, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139; see also *ibid.*, 17: 30. Only the journal of the upper house survives.
48. *Ibid.*, 5: 329, 330. On November 11, 1681, the lower house gave its permission for John Coode a member of the house "now sitting" to appear before the Provincial Court.
49. *Archives of Maryland*, 5: 312–28; Andrews, *Colonial Period*, 2: 349.

against Coode rested almost solely upon his alleged remarks to one Collen Mackenzie the previous May about having ten thousand men at his command to overthrow the Papists. "What Divell need you trouble yourself with land," Coode reputedly told Mackenzie, "there is never a Papist in Maryland will have one foote of land within these four months." Beyond this conversation, the government's case depended upon circumstantial evidence. That evidence was less than persuasive that Coode's remarks constituted a real threat of rebellion. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty. Chancellor Philip Calvert then lectured Coode from the bench:

> Captain Coode your Country hath quitted you and now let me give you some advice. I would have you for the future to love your quiet better than your Jest. The words spoken to Mackensey it seemed were spoken at a feast when you were all heated up and you love to Amaze the Ignorant and make sport with your witt at most times and thereby tis noe wonder at that time you did not well weigh the circumstances of time and other mens acting then that gave the Government just cause to suspect you were of the same tribe with Fendall especially when you were observed then to vizit one another and make vizits to others. Let me tell you mens tongues oftener sett their feete to work then their hands doe and therefore keepe a Guarde upon your Tongue.

It was good advice for Coode, who responded, "I humbly thank you for your advice and follow it for I confesse circumstances considered the Government had just cause to comit me."[50]

Coode was acquitted, but the events of mid-1681 clearly marked a critical turning point in his Maryland career. He did not return to the bench as a justice, and he undoubtedly lost his militia captaincy and his post as coroner. After the final session of the current assembly in April of 1682, Coode was no longer a burgess. The freeholders failed to return him in the next election.[51] Probably as a consequence of these events, Kenelm Cheseldyne lost his commission as attorney general. Gerard Slye had left Maryland in May of 1681 to assume residence in London as a trans-Atlantic merchant and had thereby surrendered his positions as justice and militia officer. Other relatives were also now out of office.[52]

As the family clearly suffered a decline in its political fortunes, Coode and his relatives intensified their opposition to the proprietary circle. During the next decade, Slye's residence in London and the associations he cultivated there were to become very important in the family's assaults on Charles Calvert's government. Almost immediately upon arriving in England, Slye had embarked

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50. *Archives of Maryland*, 5: 329–32 contains a transcript of the trial; for Mackenzie's deposition, see *ibid.*, 15: 391.
51. *Ibid.*, 7: 261; 13: 164.
52. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, p. 133; *Archives of Maryland*, 5: 296–97; 17: 29; 15: 326. There is no record of either Thomas or Justinian Gerard being a justice after 1681.

on this campaign. He presented to officials at Whitehall an anti-proprietary explanation of the Fendall-Coode episode which was sufficiently persuasive that the Calvert circle felt obliged to dispatch several letters to England justifying their actions. Another troublesome issue for Baltimore at this time was his relations with the emerging colonial bureaucracy. Slye testified in behalf of Christopher Rousby, the royal customs collector in Maryland, and unquestionably influenced the decision of the Lords of Trade to support Rousby in his current battle with the proprietor. When one of Lord Baltimore's councillors murdered Rousby three years later, the vacant collectorship was awarded by Whitehall to Nehemiah Blakiston, Slye's uncle and Coode's brother-in-law. Blakiston was now strategically placed to add new influence to the chorus of complaints against the proprietary government. Slye continued to serve the family usefully, and his role in England did nothing to lessen Baltimore's suspicions about their plans in Maryland.[53]

Little is known of Coode's specific activities between 1681 and 1688. Susannah Slye was dead by the winter of 1683; one disgruntled colonist, a Catholic, asserted that the governor and his rogues "were the cause of Mrs. Coode's death."[54] During the years of their marriage, Susannah had borne Coode two sons, John Jr. and William. Coode appears to have remarried soon after her death, a customary action for a young widower with small children.[55] The acquisition of land continued to command much of Coode's attention during these years, especially since he no longer had direct control of the lands bequeathed by Robert Slye. It is possible, however, that with Gerard Slye in England, Coode had some arrangement to remain in residence at "Bushwood" or at least to supervise the Slye estates. The two men were now on cordial terms, and not all of Slye's younger sisters were yet of age.[56]

Coode's one notable appearance in the public records for these years came in 1685 as a consequence of his failure to "keepe a Guarde" on his tongue. The Provincial Court justices summoned him that September "for giving very abusefull words to the honorable William Digges, Esq.," one of the justices and a member of the council. The following February, Coode paid his fine and was dischargèd.[57] Most likely Coode was merely awaiting his opportunity to strike boldly against the government. The opportunity arrived in 1688 to ride the crest of a new wave of discontent. That year he won a by-election to the assembly and

53. *Archives of Maryland*, 20: xii–xiv; 5: 296–97, 297–98, 299–300, 309, 436–41, 484–85, 526; on the Rousby-Calvert differences, see also *Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, 1681–1685*, nos. 151, 312, 325, 328, 403; Lovejoy, *Glorious Revolution*, pp. 93–96.

54. *Archives of Maryland*, 17: 185. In December of 1681, Philip Calvert wrote that Mrs. Coode had appeared near the end of her wits at the time of her husband's arrest (*Ibid.*, 20: xiv).

55. Coode's second wife, Elizabeth, would bear him four children; her identity is unknown (Wills 12A, ff. 341–42). A deposition containing William Coode's age clearly establishes him as the son of Susannah (Chancery Court Records, PC, f. 549).

56. Devlin, "John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689," p. 38.

57. Provincial Court Judgments, TG, ff. 25, 40.

joined Cheseldyne who was now serving as speaker of the house.[58] Lord Baltimore had been in England since 1684 to defend his charter and boundary claims. In his absence, the colony had become progressively restless under the inept rule of the deputy governors. Differences crystallized now, and the assembly session of 1688 came to an abrupt deadlock with an inability to resolve the differences over proprietary rights, assembly rights, defense and economic issues. Finally, William Joseph, president of the council, adjourned the body. The proprietary assembly did not convene again. Within a year, John Coode had triumphantly overturned the government, which surrendered to his Protestant Associators on August 1, 1689. In the aftermath, William and Mary responded favorably to the Associators' appeals that Maryland become a royal colony. John Coode had become a successful rebel.[59]

Coode boasted in 1691 that he had brought about the revolution "in prejudice or revenge to the Lord Baltimore."[60] It has been a longstanding historiographical debate whether Coode and his fellow rebels launched their assault on the proprietary government for personal or essentially selfless reasons. Marylanders disagreed about his motives even at the time, and the turning point was always one's assessment of the personality and character of this combative individual. The revolution of 1689, like others which preceded it in Maryland, originated in rumors of a Catholic-Indian conspiracy against the Protestants, but on this occasion local fears received a significant impetus from reports of the Glorious Revolution in England. Serious unrest threatened the colony in the late winter months until a committee of prominent Protestants investigated the rumors in March and reported them to be "a groundless and imaginary plott." Nonetheless, it was still a period of heightened uneasiness. When the Catholic government procrastinated in proclaiming William and Mary, Coode and his colleagues decided to move decisively, despite the advice from Gerard Slye in London that they should postpone carrying out "the design which they had against the Papists." Gathering a military force in mid-July, Coode led the march on the colonial capital and obtained the government's surrender without any bloodshed. Maryland had accomplished her own Glorious Revolution.[61]

Coode proceeded to organize a new government with a summons to freeholders in each county to elect delegates for a convention to meet in late August. That body, known as the Associators' Convention, acknowledged Coode as the principal military figure and elected Cheseldyne as its speaker. These two men and several of their closest allies dominated the gathering, which drew up charges against Lord Baltimore which were never fully supported with specific

58. *Archives of Maryland*, 13: 163, 164; Cheseldyne had been elected to this assembly's first session in 1686.
59. Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692*, pp. 46–179. Footnote 1 above cites the other standard sources for the revolution; *Archives of Maryland*, 8 and 13, cover this period.
60. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 210.
61. *Ibid.*, 86, 116, 99–110.

evidence.[62] Under the new ordinance for officeholders, Coode became commander-in-chief of the militia with powers "to raise and command a troop of horse as he shall see convenient." He also received appointment as naval officer of the Potomac River and quorum justice of the St. Mary's County Court. Before adjourning, the convention accorded Coode its special thanks for his services in the rebellion.[63]

For the next nine months, Coode continued as "the chief Actor in the management of affairs in Maryland," although his authority technically did not exceed that of other officers after adjournment of the convention. The delegates had not heeded his request to establish an executive council to rule between sessions of the convention. Nonetheless, a certain authority did reside in Coode and it was he who corresponded with neighboring colonies and with English officials on behalf of the interim government. Only Cheseldyne carried equal prestige.[64] Cooler heads did dissuade Coode from leading a military force into Anne Arundel County, the one area which had refused to cooperate in electing delegates to the convention. It was important not to endanger the Assocators' explanation to the crown that they had acted bloodlessly with the widespread support of the colony in overthrowing a tyrannical government. Circumstances dictated caution, especially since opponents of the rebellion were already signing petitions which portrayed Coode as a dishonest, disloyal troublemaker with little regard for justice or religion.[65]

Fears of proprietary lobbying in England finally necessitated the dispatch of emissaries to London in the summer of 1690, when Coode and Cheseldyne departed to present personally their justification for the revolution. With his departure, Coode lost his position of leadership, although some have argued he was never more than a figurehead. That explanation fails, however, to account for his earlier role or for his appointment to the delicate task of agent to the crown. Now in Coode's absence, however, subordinate Associators, Nehemiah Blakiston and Henry Jowles, moved to the forefront and consolidated the gains of the revolution.[66] Their power would continue through the establishment of royal government in Maryland, while Coode would return to the colony in 1692 without any civil or military office. He probably had himself totally to blame for this development. It is certain that within a brief period of his arrival in England his tongue had again become a source of embarrassment and incrimination. Depositions accumulated concerning Coode's own discrediting testimony, and charges of embezzlement soon pursued him as well. When he testified before the

62. *Ibid.*, 117; 13: 231–40.
63. *Ibid.*, 13: 241, 246, 247.
64. *Ibid.*, 8: 177; Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government*, pp. 82–3, 94–98.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 84–93; *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 128–29, 130–31, 135–36, 199.
66. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 195–96, 206–07. Steiner, "The Protestant Revolution in Maryland," pp. 302, 335, presents the strongest argument that Coode was never more than a figurehead with Blakiston and Henry Jowles the real leaders.

Lords of Trade, Coode registered a decidedly negative impression on their highly influential secretary, William Blathwayt, and probably upon others as well. Although his name appeared upon the initial list of nominees for the first royal council, it was soon removed from consideration. It was always Coode's dilemma that he registered a more favorable impression upon first acquaintance than he was able to sustain later.[67]

Despite Coode's personal disappointments in London, the crown did decide on "a case of necessity" to validate his revolution and to make Maryland a royal colony. Lionel Copley arrived in Maryland as the new governor in early 1692. Coode himself returned to the colony a few months later. He found Blakiston and Jowles on the council, with the former enjoying significant power as Copley's chief confidante. Cheseldyne had successfully stood for election to the first royal assembly, over which he was now presiding as speaker of the house. Other Associators were also in positions of influence, but John Coode, the leader of the successful revolution, was once again on the outside.[68]

It was not long before the excluded rebel had succumbed to the only recourse he knew in such situations, a discrediting of those in authority, even when they were former fellow rebels and relatives. Coode did all in his power to create dissension. An observer noted that Coode was "inveterate against Blakiston," who was now depicted as a "great Rogue" in Coode's conversations with the governor. Copley also became Coode's victim. Having departed England later than Copley, Coode now assured the governor that Baltimore and Blathwayt had conspired to revoke his commission and to appoint Francis Nicholson as chief executive. The alarmed Copley was soon writing offensive notes to Blathwayt in worried belief of this report.[69] By the fall, Coode had allied with a more legitimate opponent of the new regime. Sir Thomas Lawrence, the crown-appointed secretary of the colony, had arrived in Maryland to find the governor and council unwilling to accord him the full profits of his office. Serious squabbles erupted and the small St. Mary's City reverberated with endless rumors of cabals. By early 1693, Copley had purged the council of Lawrence and his two chief supporters, and had even imprisoned the secretary. Coode sensed his opportunity, shrewdly reasoning no doubt that Lawrence would have the full support of the English government in this power struggle. For the next chaotic year, Coode savored once again the taste of battle and intrigue. Before word could arrive from

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67. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 210, 211, 280, 281–83; Blathwayt to Lionel Copley, Feb. 28, 1692/93, Blathwayt Papers, 18, Research Library, Colonial Williamsburg.

68. Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government*, chap. V; *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 328; 13: 349. Edward Randolph, royal customs collector, provided an amusing account of the principal officeholders, especially Blakiston, in a letter to Blathwayt, June 28, 1692 (Robert Noxon Toppan and Alfred T. S. Goodrick, eds., *Edward Randolph: Including His Letters and Official Papers . . . 1676–1703* 7 vols. [Boston, 1898–1909] 7: 373–85).

69. *Randolph Letters*, 7: 393; Copley to Blathwayt, June 20, 1692 and Blathwayt to Copley, Feb. 28, 1692/93, Blathwayt Papers, 18; *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 328.

England vindicating Lawrence's position, Copley died. Blakiston seized the reins of government, only to confront Coode as his antagonist. With the assistance of a few St. Mary's County neighbors and the sheriff, Coode obtained Lawrence's release from prison and sided with the secretary through the subsequent power struggle which did not subside until Francis Nicholson arrived as the new governor in 1694.[70]

Nicholson, as the chief executive of Virginia in 1690, had much distrusted Coode, as indeed he distrusted all who seemingly disregarded authority. Now four years later, however, the two suspicious adversaries began a strange alliance. In vindicating Lawrence and rewarding those who had supported the secretary's position, Nicholson could scarcely bypass Coode. Accordingly, the governor commissioned Coode a colonel in the St. Mary's militia and appointed him sheriff of that county, overturning a recent council decision to award that post to another man. Coode's neighbors added their own endorsement to his new respectability by electing him a vestryman for the recently established Anglican Church, a very special interest of Governor Nicholson. For the third time in his career, Coode held important powers in an intimate relationship with the central government.[71]

This possession of power and cooperation with authority, as always with Coode, was temporary. The absolute break with Nicholson did not come for two years, but within months of Coode's appointments, fissures were apparent. The governor was a model administrator determined to establish the colony's government on a higher plane of efficiency and integrity. He launched a concerted effort to recruit more qualified officeholders, to exact higher standards of performance, and to scrutinize carefully all official reports; when shortcomings appeared, he was quick to investigate and to prosecute wrongdoers. Coode was unaccustomed to such thorough examinations of his performance of duty. In November 1694, he faced his first test. Nicholson requested the complete records of the public revenues for 1689–1692, years for which Coode, Cheseldyne and Blakiston had been responsible. Upon examining Coode's records, the governor detected £ 532 2s. 9d in revenues unaccounted for. Coode submitted additional records and took oaths regarding the duties he had collected as naval officer during that period. He sought to shift responsibility for any missing funds to the deceased Blakiston, who of course could not dispute Coode's charges. Nicholson was apparently satisfied, for the moment, with Coode's explanation.[72]

That satifaction disappeared as new manifestations of Coode's shortcomings,

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70. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 343–566; 20: 1–79; *Randolph Letters*, 7: 452; *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 1: 298.

71. *Archives of Maryland*, 7: 186–88, 197–98, 208–09; 20: 106, 113, 126, 130; 23: 18. Stephen Saunders Webb, "The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 23 (Oct. 1966): 513–48, provides an overview of Nicholson's career and his attitudes toward critical issues of the day.

72. *Archives of Maryland*, 20: 173, 176–77, 208–09, 250.

combined with revived accounts of his past escapades, enraged the governor and exhausted whatever patience Nicholson might have with this wayward officeholder. Coode's frequent drunkenness and his openly blasphemous statements against the Christian religion and the Church of England were particularly offensive to Nicholson, who even publicly beat upon Coode on one occasion "when he was drunk & made Disturbance at Divine Service." Nor was the governor pleased with reports which gradually came to his attention of Coode's meddlesome correspondence with Dr. William Payne of England in avaricious pursuit of the commissary's office which Nicholson intended for Thomas Bray. Furthermore, it came to the governor's attention that Coode probably intended to oppose legislation coming before the assembly in 1696 for public support of the church. The crown had disallowed the previous act of religion on a technical point, thereby requiring a new act of establishment. Finally, Coode had been remiss in filing an incomplete report on the St. Mary's County tithables.[73]

The first public indication of Nicholson's bitter disenchantment came on July 7, 1696, when the governor moved vigorously to prosecute Coode and Cheseldyne for "the money by them taken (in the time of the Revolution) without the King's order." The confrontation became more hostile when Coode "on purpose" sought and won a seat in the assembly later that summer in a by-election. Nicholson regarded the election as a personal affront, and he was fully prepared to meet this challenge when Coode appeared in the lower house to swear his oaths as a delegate on September 18. Again, typically, Coode's unbridled tongue provided the ammunition for his downfall. In a recent harangue against the church, Coode had admitted to being ordained once as an Anglican priest and deacon, an aspect of his past by 1696 unknown to all but a very few individuals in the colony, and certainly not previously suspected by the governor. Nicholson employed this surprising information to contend that Coode, as a priest, was not qualified to sit in the assembly. Precedent in both the English House of Commons and the Maryland House of Delegates barred clergy from sitting as members. While the precedent was clear, the fact of Coode's priesthood was not. Furthermore, the delegates, who had already routinely approved Coode's election when apprised of this new information, were jealous of their prerogatives and highly suspicious of the governor's move. They replied curtly, "We humbly conceive ourselves proper Judges of our own members and therefore have resolved that the Said John Coode is legally qualified to sit as a member of this house." A serious deadlock threatened when Nicholson steadfastly refused to administer the oaths of office to Coode, while the lower house in turn resolutely declined to conduct any further business "till the House is full."[74]

In an effort to break the impasse, Nicholson summoned the colony's most

73. *Ibid.*, 23: 452; 20: 122, 490, 493–94, 579; Thomas Lawrence to Archbishop Thomas Tenison, Feb. 20, 1696/97, Fulham Palace Papers, II, ff. 85–86, Lambeth Palace Library, London.
74. Lawrence to Tenison, Feb. 20, 1696/97; *Archives of Maryland*, 20: 453, 491–93; 19: 435, 436, 477.

eminent lawyers, among them Cheseldyne, and all agreed that no one in priestly orders could sit in the House of Commons, nor therefore in the Maryland House of Delegates either. The lawyers further concurred that holy orders once taken were "an indelible character. . .which cannot be taken off but by the Ordinary or Power by which the Same was Conferred." Nicholson also submitted to the delegates the precedent of the assembly's exclusion of clergyman John Hewitt in 1692. They did not doubt the rule, but they did continue to question whether it should apply to Coode, who had many defenders in the lower house. While that body heatedly suspended its meetings for the weekend, the committee on elections met to hear the testimony of Cheseldyne and other witnesses that Coode had once exercised the functions of a priest in Maryland. With this evidence, the committee submitted its report to the reconvened house that Coode was ineligible; the delegates nonetheless overruled the committee on Coode's word that he was willing to swear that he was not a priest. Nicholson then summoned the delegates to his chamber, displayed his accumulated evidence against Coode, and challenged them to deny that Coode was a "deacon or Priest." The governor also presented for their perusal a series of depositions of Coode's recent religious discussions which had denied the divinity of Christ and blasphemed the trinity. The governor had gathered this information preparatory to initiating prosecution against Coode for blasphemy. Buoyed by the lower house's heretofore adamant defense of his eligibility, Coode now overconfidently gloated that he had indeed been ordained in England. That boastful admission immediately erased his majority support in the assembly. The chastened delegates rescinded their former votes, declared Coode ineligible, and dismissed him from the house and humbly apologized to Nicholson.[75]

Coode's vulnerability was now plainly apparent. Nicholson and the council felt justified in proceeding actively against him. They stripped Coode of his militia commission and instigated a full investigation into his affairs with warrants to search his belongings for "Blasphemous Books" which "may prove of dangerous consequences to those persons in whose hands such writings may chance to come." It was during this search that Coode's full and incriminating correspondence with Dr. Payne against Nicholson's plans for the commissary office also came to light.[76]

Facing double suits in the Provincial Court for embezzlement and blasphemy, Coode "privately Removed all or most of his Goods and Chatells & himself into the colony of Virginia." He was generally to reside across the Potomac River for the next two and a half years. Meanwhile, his struggles with the central government once again became a rallying point for other disaffected colonists. The number of such individuals had risen sharply in recent months as

75. *Ibid.*, 19: 436–40, 478–82.
76. *Ibid.*, 20: 490, 493–94, 511, 515. On Dec. 16, 1696, Coode was suspended from further service as a vestryman of King and Queen Parish (*Ibid.*, 583).

resentments mounted over Nicholson's exacting demands and other consequences of his wide-ranging reforms in the colony. Attacks on the government suddenly became more vocal and less restrained. Nicholson was appropriately concerned and sufficiently fearful of Coode's activities to issue a proclamation to the entire colony on December 17. Expressing suspicion that a rebellion might be underway, the governor ordered that all evidence currently in hand against Coode be made public with a warning that anyone "Entertaining, Aiding harbouring or assisting" the fugitive would be severely punished. The proclamation offered a reward of £ 20 sterling to any person apprehending Coode.[77]

Among the colony's discontented, Coode's neighbor Philip Clarke assumed the leadership. An attorney who owed his rise in provincial politics to the revolution of 1689, Clarke had demonstrated adroit talents in the colony's legislative and judicial affairs. By 1696 his role in the assembly clearly eclipsed that of the speaker in importance. Nicholson had acknowledged Clarke's abilities by appointing him a justice of the Provincial Court and naval officer and by frequently seeking his legal advice. The two men were never close, however, and Clarke increasingly lent his talents to the cause of Nicholson's opposition. In mid-December, about the time of the Coode proclamation, the governor also identified Clarke as a troublemaker in an appearance before the Provincial Court to charge Clarke with "several crimes and misdemeanors." Simultaneously, Nicholson sought Clarke's dismissal as justice and a prohibition against his practicing law in the colony. Having struck out against the presumed leaders of any uprising, Nicholson then offered to furnish a traveling pass and £ 50 to any discontented colonists who wished "to goe to England to make their Grievances known and Manage what Complaint they thought fitt against him."[78]

The governor's frontal assault on the rumors and probable leaders as well as an unusually severe winter which soon followed temporarily froze the situation. Only a letter to Governor Edmund Andros of Virginia to apprehend Coode and orders to shipmasters not to take the renegade aboard their ships testify overtly to any unrest. Meanwhile, Nicholson focused his primary attention on the campaign which he, Lawrence, and James Blair of Virginia were conducting against Andros, an old adversary. Nicholson disliked Andros's policies and was hopeful of succeeding him as governor of Virginia.[79]

Clarke's trial came before the Provincial Court on May 17, 1697. The defendant acknowledged that a "scandalous defamatory Writing" which cast aspersions on the governor was indeed his composition, for which he apologized. Nicholson indulgently released Clarke upon promise of good behavior and ordered the court

77. *Ibid.*, 561-62, 563, 564.
78. *Ibid.*, 40-41, 466, 564-65, 583; 19: 40-41, 285-432; 23: 501; Provincial Court Judgments, TL No. 2, f. 174.
79. *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 35-37; *Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, 1696-1697*, nos. 772, 858, 973, 998; Parke Rouse, Jr., *James Blair of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1971), pp. 94-116.

not to proceed further with sentencing.[80] It appeared momentarily that Nicholson had weathered the storm. Then, Coode returned briefly to Maryland to foment a resurgence of opposition. He worked primarily through his stepson Gerard Slye, his old rebel colleague Robert Mason, and Clarke. Mason was currently serving as sheriff of St. Mary's County. Under Coode's instigation, Slye handled matters on the English side of the Atlantic. He presented seventeen charges to Whitehall authorities cataloging Nicholson's "incredible actions." Many of these complaints were exaggerated or so general in nature, without significant documentation, that they were hardly likely to disturb Nicholson's superiors. Others charged the governor in effect with rigorously carrying out his instructions from the crown. For example, one article stated that the governor had "put the countrey to an unreasonable charge his building of Churches too bigg & too chargeable for that Coountry and to the great prejudice of so good a worke, and upon land belonging to private persons, and in places not proper nor convenient to build Churches on," while another complained of Nicholson's having moved the capital to Annapolis, a more central location in the growing colony. Other charges accused Nicholson, again in vague terms, of extortion and of appointing disaffected persons to office. Without specifically mentioning Coode, but falsely generalizing from his assembly expulsion, one article claimed that the governor dismissed duly elected delegates and seized their estates. In summary, Slye said that Nicholson was "mad against those who first appeared there for King William . . . calls them rebels and threatens to try them with a file of musketeers and to hang them with Magna Carta about their necks."[81]

Nicholson obtained a copy of the articles and promptly began collecting testimony in his defense should it be needed. He also instituted court proceedings against Slye. The governor soon realized, however, that these steps were not sufficient. While the charges were individually of little substance or credibility, it became very difficult to dismiss or discredit them collectively. Nicholson ruefully admitted later the shrewdness of "one of Cood's principles that Fling a great deal of Dirt, and some will stick."[82] Many in the colony resisted any reforms, however necessary, and were ready to believe anything negative about Nicholson; elections for a new assembly readily demonstrated the governor's unpopularity. A number of his staunchest supporters were not returned. The new assembly, which convened in March 1697/98, included eighteen freshmen legislators, most of

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80. A copy of the proceedings is entered in the Charles County Court Records, V, No. 1, f. 371. Clarke had petitioned Andros for protection, and his former colleagues on the Provincial Court bench attacked the petition for its distortions and misrepresentations (*Archives of Maryland*, 23: 178–81).

81. *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 374–78, 406, 435, 441–43, 504, 509; Slye to Lord Godolphin, June 23, 1697, in William J. Hardy, ed., *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic Series, . . . 1697* (London, 1927), pp. 208–09, 221; Copies were available in Maryland by January, 1697/98. Before leaving Maryland the previous summer, Slye had actively spoken against Nicholson (Provincial Court Judgments, K, ff. 57–58).

82. *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 378–80, 382–83, 408, 410–11, 412–15, 502 (quote).

whom appeared quite willing to embarrass the governor. They rapidly joined forces with Nicholson's enemies who predominated among the returning delegates. Leadership in this assembly represented a tactical alliance between the Coode-Clarke forces and "Lord Baltimore's agents and dependants," as the council loosely styled the group. Ironically, Coode now found allies among the Catholics and Catholic sympathizers whom he had overthrown less than a decade earlier.[83]

Clarke, chairman of the strategic committee on laws, assumed the commanding role in the assembly, which was the most recalcitrant and troublesome one which Nicholson faced as governor. The only pleasant moments, perhaps strained ones at that, came at the joyous "General Entertainment" which the governor hosted for the delegates on the first evening. For almost a month thereafter, Nicholson and the lower house were completely at odds. The delegates had come to the capital with a lengthy list of grievances against the government. Disregarding the political climate, Nicholson tried to strengthen his ongoing reforms and to gain a complete vindication against Slye's charges. On the latter issue, the delegates declined to cooperate, "humbly conceiving the difference between his Excellency and Mr. Gerrard Slye doth not affect them." The assembly would have little to do with the reforms either, and it eventually adjourned without completing any business.[84]

Meanwhile, Nicholson, showing no thoughts of compromise, had initiated executive action against his primary adversaries. The governor dismissed Mason as sheriff, noting him "to be a Busy man of Coode's party." The assembly refused to accede to Nicholson's effort to remove Mason as well from his post of public treasurer of the western shore.[85] Nicholson summoned Clarke before the council to speak to Slye's charges. Generally denying any pertinent knowledge of the articles, Clarke occasionally voiced a feeble suggestion that they might contain some accuracy although he was careful not to assert that any charge was completely valid.[86]

Slye, traveling back and forth between England and Maryland during this period, was now actively circulating "Further Articles of Crymes & Misdemeanors Against Coll. Francis Nicholson." He was also asserting that Nicholson was about to be replaced as governor by a Major John Longston. If Slye's first set of articles had been either completely false or distorted half-truths, these additional nineteen accusations were simply ludicrous slanders of Nicholson's private

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83. *Ibid.*, 19: 555–56, and 22: 77–8, provide the membership for the old and new assembly. On the alliance against Nicholson, see Council to Board of Trade, May 28, 1698, CO5/714/II, Public Record Office, London, and *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 448–49. William Joseph, Jr., Catholic son of Baltimore's chief executive overthrown in 1689, mocked the government's case against Slye when it came to trial later (*Ibid.*, 23: 512–13).
84. *Archives of Maryland*, 22: 7–151, especially 122 (quote).
85. *Ibid.*, 23: 406; 22: 33, 39, 44, 50.
86. *Ibid.*, 23: 412–15.

character and his supposed "incapacity & Illiterateness." Most of the charges attacked his high church religious views or his alleged sexual assaults on young girls. In toto, these articles had even less substance than their predecessors. Slye, in dispatching these new charges to Whitehall, apologized for not providing proof of his allegations but reported that no justice would take the necessary depositions for fear of the governor's reprisals.[87]

This concerted effort to discredit Nicholson carried no weight in England, where the Lords of Trade were currently commending the governor as an exemplary colonial official by promoting him to the governorship of Virginia. Nicholson would soon be replaced as chief executive of Maryland, but not under the conditions Slye had anticipated.[88] Before departing Maryland, however, Nicholson was determined to gain some vindication. He had issued warrants for the apprehension of Mason, Clarke, and Slye before learning of his new appointment. Now he proceeded to oversee their prosecution before the Provincial Court with perhaps too zealous a desire for their conviction. The three men were charged with violating the Act of 1692 against divulgers of false news, and some procedures of their trials were of questionable validity. Juries found all three guilty.[89] Clarke, managing his own defense, presented a persuasive appeal based upon irregularities in his trial, but the court ruled his reasons to be insufficient. It proceeded to fine him 6,000 pounds of tobacco and to commit him to the custody of the Anne Arundel County sheriff for six months imprisonment without bail. Meanwhile, Slye had separately petitioned the council with a humble apology, praise of the governor's action, and a request for a pardon. The council indicated some willingness to be tolerant with Slye but only if he made a full confession and cooperated in supplying additional evidence against his comrades. Two days later, Slye submitted the desired confession, which placed primary blame on Coode. Slye offered to answer all questions candidly and to provide an original copy of the articles against Nicholson in Coode's handwriting. Confessions soon followed as well from Clarke and Mason with each also portraying Coode as the chief culprit. Nicholson obligingly remitted the sentences against Slye and Mason, but he declined to offer similar clemency to Clarke, whose recent and continuing activities among the burgesses left the governor ill-disposed to be tolerant. Nicholson even prohibited visitors to Clarke's cell. His continued imprisonment became a source of much friction between the governor and the assembly throughout the autumn of 1698, and Clarke finally gained an early release on bail in late November.[90]

87. *Ibid.*, 441–42; Slye to James Vernon, May 26 and June 23, 1698, CO5/719/VI, no. 7 and 7i ("Further Articles . . .") and no. 9, PRO.

88. Rouse, *James Blair*, pp. 108–116. "A True Account of A Conference at Lambeth, Dec. 27, 1697," in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, 5 vols. (Hartford, 1870–1878), 1: 36–65.

89. *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 443, 444, 447–55, 458, 463–64, 471–73, 504–5, 507–10. Provincial Court Judgments, IL, ff. 52–65, contains the proceedings of the three trials.

90. *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 519–20, 524–25, 528–29, 531; 25: 4–6, 13, 20, 26, 31–32, 39; 22: 161, 166,

Coode undoubtedly followed these events with disbelief. He had been convinced that Marylanders were sufficiently discontented to accept his leadership in overthrowing a government once again. He had allegedly boasted to friends during his exile that he "had pulled down one Gouvernment & did not doubt doing the same" again and that anyone was "a Cowardly fool for being for Mr. Nicholson." Coode had even risked arrest by returning to St. Mary's County in the spring of 1698 to confer with his associates and to participate in spreading the reports that Nicholson's tenure was coming to an end.[91] That foray had little effect, and in the subsequent months Coode observed the disintegration of his scheme and the turning of his chief colleagues against him. Nicholson had a burgeoning folder of incriminating evidence for the government to use against Coode for treason as well as the other charges outstanding against him. Nor could Coode any longer expect a sanctuary in Virginia. Almost immediately upon assuming the governorship there, Nicholson issued an order to the sheriff of Westmoreland County to apprehend Coode and to show why he had not been arrested previously. When Coode eluded arrest, Nicholson announced a general proclamation for his capture.[92]

Coode wisely concluded that he would be safer in the hands of Maryland authorities than in Nicholson's custody. Consequently, the fugitive returned to his home colony, now under the governorship of Nathaniel Blakiston, a nephew of Nehemiah Blakiston. The new chief executive was without personal antagonism toward Coode and was quite anxious to begin his administration with cordial relations with all fractions in the colony. He thus responded sympathetically when Coode visited him in March and consented to "Surrender himself to Justice." Coode promised to tender bail for an appearance at the next Provincial Court, but by May 10 he still had not given security. Upon Blakiston's order Coode was taken into custody, but "not voluntarily."[93]

Trials against Coode dominated the proceedings of the October session of the Provincial Court. A jury found him not guilty of stirring up a rebellion in June of 1698; the evidence, much of it hearsay or circumstantial, was deemed not sufficient for conviction. In the subsequent case for blasphemy, however, a jury did return a guilty verdict. Coode's request for an arrest of judgment was ruled insufficient, and on October 13 the court decreed that Coode be bored through the tongue and fined £ 20. There is no indication that Coode was ever tried on the embezzlement charge.[94]

212, 214, 215, 216, 219–20; Provincial Court Judgments, IL, ff. 57–65, 142–43; *ibid.*, WT No. 3, f. 5; Accounts of Trials, Fulham Palace Papers, II, ff. 112–27, Lambeth Palace.

91. *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 412, 437, 447.

92. *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 1: 402, 418–19. See also *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 521–22, 523; 25: 5–7, 30.

93. *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 58, 75; Provincial Court Judgments, WT No. 3, f. 7.

94. Provincial Court Judgments, WT No. 3, ff. 104–06, 208–10, 211–13. Tongue boring was the standard penalty for blasphemy (*Archives of Maryland*, 15: 80).

Coode's tongue, forever getting him into trouble, was not bored. Governor Blakiston, upon the representation of the Provincial Court justices, "suspended the execution of the Corporal Punishments & Fine upon Mr. John Cood inflicted by that Court upon consideration of his service done on the Revolution." The suspension would be in effect for six months "in hopes of finding a Reformation in him." The council concurred and ruled that if Coode did behave himself appropriately, "he may then be pardoned."[95] The following July Coode applied for his pardon, attesting that "he had of late very well and soberly behaved himself." After consulting the council, Blakiston pardoned Coode and permanently suspended the fine in consideration of Coode's former services and the fact that he was at present very poor.[96]

Perhaps chastened by his narrow escape, Coode remained inactive in politics the next few years. His name seldom appears in the public records. In 1702/03 he was in court to answer for 6,070 pounds of tobacco unaccounted for from his tenure as sheriff, and the council briefly interrogated him in 1706 about a Land Office record book missing since the revolution of 1689.[97] Apparently these were difficult years financially for Coode. In the late 1690s, of course, he had been unable to supervise production on his plantations. It was hard to recover his fortune, and Coode had never demonstrated great proficiency for or devotion to farming. In 1704 he petitioned the assembly to collect imprisonment fees from his days as sheriff a decade earlier. The assembly did not act for two years and then rejected the request. The delegates did resolve in 1706 to allow Coode 15,000 pounds of tobacco in full discharge of all of his past accounts. Coode readily accepted the offer. Title over a disputed piece of land also brought Coode before the council where his case received favorable attention.[98] Coode may also have sought some extra income from still a new profession, the practice of law. In 1708 either he or his son John applied to the governor and received a license as attorney in St. Mary's County Court. That court's records do not survive and this is the only extant mention of a John Coode practicing law. Since Coode died soon thereafter, the reference may very well be to him and not his son.[99]

Despite Coode's political inactivity and declining financial status, the family continued to enjoy some prominence in local politics. His two sons, John and William, served successively as sheriff from 1704 to 1709.[100] They never held elective office, however. When the freeholders looked again to a Coode in 1708, a

95. *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 80.
96. *Ibid.*, 103; for the text of the pardon, see Chancery Court Records, PC, f. 453.
97. *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 140; 26: 573, 574, 576; Provincial Court Judgments, TL No. 3, ff. 228–29, 236.
98. *Archives of Maryland*, 26: 407, 566, 583; Chancery Court Records, PC, ff. 474–75. Nicholson had charged in 1698 that Coode and Slye were "much in debt" and implied that financial problems prompted their cabal (Nicholson to [James Vernon?], Aug. 19, 1698, Nicholson Letters, Research Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Va.; see also *Archives of Maryland*, 23: 502–03).
99. *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 236.
100. Provincial Court Judgments, PL No. 1, f. 228; PL No. 2, f. 55; *Archives of Maryland*, 27: 333.

year when tempers were flaring against another governor, it was John Coode, Sr., the perennial rebel, and leader of the discontented, who drew their votes. John Seymour, like Francis Nicholson, was a zealous, reforming chief executive, but he was even less adept a politician. Seymour's efforts to limit local power, particularly his extensive changes in the judicial system, had progressively soured his relations with the colonists during his four-year tenure. The voters dramatically expressed their antagonism in the election of a new assembly in early 1708.[101] John Coode was among the delegates who assembled in Annapolis on September 27. He was an active participant in the lower house's battles with Seymour until the Committee on Elections and Privileges reported on the fourth day that the four St. Mary's County delegates had been chosen without a proper proclamation by Sheriff William Coode of the time and place of election. Despite the protests of Coode and his fellow delegates, the assembly accepted the committee report. The ousted representatives did not miss much business, however, as Seymour dismissed the recalcitrant assembly on October 4 and issued a summons for the election of a new assembly in an effort to obtain a more cooperative legislature.[102]

The governor's hopes for a major change in membership were in vain. The new assembly convened two months later with forty-one of fifty members returned from the previous body. Among them were Coode and his same three colleagues from St. Mary's, but only three members of the delegation were allowed to assume their seats. The election itself had been proper, but questions had again arisen about Coode's dismissal in 1696 for being a priest. There was some debate before the house ruled that he was still ineligible on those grounds to be a delegate. Coode requested permission to speak and "be heard by his Counsel learned in the law," but the house refused to reconsider its vote. In the ensuing months, William Coode, still serving as sheriff, balked at holding an election to replace his father and was eventually summoned to appear before the assembly. It was not until after John Coode's death that St. Mary's County elected its fourth representative.[103]

Only in death did the perennial rebel cease to be a threat to any Maryland government. He had prepared his last will and testament on February 27, 1708/09, and died one month later. Coode bequeathed tracts of land to each of his three sons and to his daughter, Winnifred. He left another plantation to his wife, Elizabeth, and upon her death it would be divided between two other daughters. It was a typical will which furnished no suggestion of the tempestuous and

101. Only twenty of the fifty delegates of the previous assembly were returned. Among the missing were many of the governor's strongest supporters and among the thirty new men were numerous known opponents (*Archives of Maryland*, 27: 202–9 provides names of the assemblymen). The most complete account of Seymour's tenure is found in David W. Jordan, "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland, 1689–1715," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1966), pp. 208–65.
102. *Archives of Maryland*, 27: 201, 205, 209–10, 219–20.
103. *Ibid.*, 270, 271, 333, 410, 411.

fascinating career of the deceased.[104] The ensuing disposition of Coode's personal estate was far more characteristic and appropriate a memorial. Appraised as worth £ 259 13s. 8d., the estate was still in litigation fourteen years later.[105]

How does one finally assess John Coode? Should he be praised for his outspoken role as champion of the people, especially the discontented, and for his actions in resisting the centralized exercise of authority and sometimes tyranny?[106] Or was his archfoe Francis Nicholson more correct in regarding him as someone always endeavoring to raise a commotion, with little concern for the issues?[107] It is undoubtedly true that Coode participated on several occasions in what most historians have since regarded as the "good" side of colonial power struggles, and that he publicly defended the rights of the people. One must also acknowledge, however, that many "good" causes became compromised by his ill-conduct and procedures, and that little consistency characterized his principles and actions. He could deplore centralized officeholding, and then promote it once he was in power; he could castigate the use of military force against himself, and then invoke it against his own enemies. He could lead a revolt against the Catholics whom he portrayed as the devils in society, and then cozily reunite with them a few years later when he discovered new enemies. Indeed, the only consistency one finds in the contradictory career of this man was a recurring resistance to any authority other than his own. Tragically, he was unable to bridle his passions or harness his obvious abilities; as a result any cause became a crusade which consumed him in unrestrained, ill-reasoned assaults on his opponents. Without question he possessed a charismatic personality, for he was always able to find defenders and supporters among his fellow colonists, especially in times of general discontent. They recognized, however, Coode's limitations, for when it became time to construct rather than to tear down, they turned from him to other, less flamboyant and more stable men. Still, for sheer endurance and perseverance, no other seventeenth-century American figure can match John Coode, Maryland's perennial rebel.

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104. Wills 12A, ff. 341-42.

105. Testamentary Proceedings 21, f. 287; 22, ff. 65, 83, 455; 24, ff. 90, 209; 26, ff. 134, 157, 158. The main litigants were Coode's sons by the first marriage and his widow and her new husband.

106. Gene Thornton has written that Coode was "undoubtedly as responsible as any for the overthrow of an antiquated and nearly despotic Government. As for his character, it is well to keep his deformity in mind. And perhaps we should agree with Hamlet, that if justice were done, none of us would escape a whipping" ("The Life and Opinions of Captain John Coode, Gentleman," p. 123).

107. Nicholson to James Vernon, Aug. 19, 1698, Nicholson Letters. It was Nicholson who made the comparison between Coode and Ferguson, who completely switched positions and later opposed the government he had helped to install. An editor of the *Archives of Maryland* concurred with Nicholson, calling Coode an "unclean bird" (15: x). See also Lovejoy, *Glorious Revolution*, p. 304.

The First Professional Theater in Maryland in Its Colonial Setting*

KATHRYN PAINTER WARD

On June 18, 1752, the *Maryland Gazette* officially set the scene for the first recorded theatrical production in the colony, given at "the New Theatre" in Annapolis "by permission of his Honour the President" of the Upper House of Assembly, Benjamin Tasker. Announcing themselves as "The Company of Comedians from Virginia," the players promised that on June 22 they would perform "*The Beggar's Opera*; likewise a Farce, call'd *The Lying Valet*." The performance was scheduled to begin at precisely seven o'clock, and tickets were offered at ten shillings for box seats and seven shillings six-pence for the pit. "No persons to be admitted behind the scenes." The Company declared that they intended to play in Annapolis as long as they met with encouragement and then move on to Upper Marlborough, Piscataway, and Port Tobacco. They hoped "to give satisfaction to the gentlemen and ladies in each place, that ... favour[ed] them with their company."[1]

As we look down the more than two hundred years that have passed since that auspicious June, we can see with what clarity of foresight the company of comedians selected their opening efforts. John Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, said to have taken inspiration from Jonathan Swift's suggestion that a Newgate pastoral "might make an odd pretty sort of thing," was first produced by John Rich at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in 1728. The London wags declared it "made Gay rich and Rich gay," and Swift wrote Gay while the piece was playing to capacity audiences in Dublin that it had "knocked down Gulliver." A satire of polite society whose manners are shown by Gay as the manners of thieves and felons, a burlesque of Italian opera in the airs chosen principally from popular ballads and arranged by the competent John Christopher Pepush, a caricature of Robert Walpole and his brother-in-law Sir Charles Townshend, the rollicking ballad-opera remains but slightly altered on the twentieth-century stage. Bert Brecht's

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1. I have attempted here and elsewhere to preserve the spelling and punctuation of the original, but I have disregarded the custom of the eighteenth-century printer of italicizing proper nouns, capitalizing all nouns, and varying large and small capitals.

Die Dreigroshenoper of 1928 carries a modern musical accompaniment by Kurt Weill, but the swashbuckling Macheath with his Polly Peachum and Lucy Lockit are as vital in the *Three-Penny Opera* as they were when they took London by storm in 1728 and Annapolis in 1752.

The evening's entertainment was not over even with the hilarious final scenes of Gay's play, at which George Washington is reported to have laughed so uproariously that his false teeth fell out. In the American colonies, as in eighteenth-century England, short farces or comedies set to music regularly served to close the theatergoer's evening with a light diversion after a five-act play. David Garrick's *The Lying Valet* was the afterpiece chosen to follow *The Beggar's Opera* at the first professional performance in Annapolis. Produced in England in 1741 and seldom off the stage during the century, Garrick's farce has small literary merit, but great popular appeal. It involves the efforts of Charles Gayless, an impoverished lover, to win the hand of the heiress Melissa, and the stratagems of his valet, Timothy Sharp, to bring about the marriage. Garrick himself created the role of Sharp, who raises laughter by the device of good-natured horseplay and native ingenuity.

There had been no time for theatrical amusement among the colonists who accepted Lord Baltimore's offer of 1,000 acres of land to any man who brought

By Permiſſion of his Honour the
PRESIDENT,

AT the New THEATRE, in *Annapolis*, by the Company of Comedians from *Virginia*, on Monday next, being the 22d of this Inſtant *June*, will be perform'd,

The BEGGAR'S OPERA:

Likewiſe a FARCE, call'd

The LYING VALET.

To begin preciſely at 7 o'Clock.

Tickets to be had at the Printing-Office.
Box 10*s.* Pit 7*s.* 6*d.*
No Perſons to be admitted behind the Scenes.

N. B. The Company immediately intend to *Upper Marlborough*, as ſoon as they have done performing here, where they intend to Play as long as they meet with Encouragement, and ſo on to *Piſcataway*, and *Port Tobacco*. And hope to give Satisfaction to the Gentlemen and Ladies in each Place, that will favour them with their Company.

Advertisement for the New Theatre in Annapolis from the *Maryland Gazette*, June 18, 1752.

over five settlers. House raisings and husking and harvesting bees occasionally relieved the loneliness of the first Marylanders, but as the pioneers among them pushed up the rivers and waterways into the interior, the plantations in the older regions gradually lost their look of frontier outposts and slowly assumed the characteristics of English country estates. Horse racing became a popular sport. In the luxurious homes of the few who were fortunate enough to achieve wealth, music and dancing were favorite recreations at celebrations of the sovereign's birthday, the governor's ball, or some other family or community occasion. With prosperity came leisure for the arts, which were particularly attractive to those who had been sent back to England for education. By the mid-eighteenth century, Annapolis had developed a coherent social group and a social season in the Spring, when the wealthy planters of the Maryland province came to Annapolis to attend the fair, to go to the races, or to take the pulse of the Assembly. The players, then, were well-advised to choose the month of June for their first offering, for they would be sure that those who could pay the higher prices of the box seats would be at hand; yet their principal support must come from the Annapolis townsmen, small farmers, and artisans who made up the great mass of the population. Since laughter is a common leveller, *The Beggar's Opera* and *The Lying Valet* were happy choices for the heterogeneous audience.

The company of comedians that made the initial bow in Maryland was headed by Walter Murray and Thomas Kean who, having dissolved their partnership in New York, again joined forces in Williamsburg.[2] Since they had played in the Virginia capital and in Norfolk before coming into Maryland, the actors quite properly advertised themselves as comedians from Virginia. The announcement of their first performance unhappily but typically omits the cast, and we shall probably never know whether the company was composed of professionals only or whether some of the players were stage-struck amateurs lured to the boards as they often were in the early days of the theater in the colonies.[3] Nor can we from this perspective reconstruct the orchestra for the opera. It may be that a single fiddler or harpsichordist provided the music; a local music club or group of music students may have joined forces with the actors; or the actors may have sung the lively ballads without accompaniment. Many of those whose names appear in later casts must have had pleasing voices, for they sang on stage during the week and in houses of worship on Sunday. I prefer to believe that the musical accompaniment for this performance was undertaken by one John Lammond or his counterpart. Clearly John could have played the score, as his advertisement in

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2. For a reconstruction of the operations of the Murray-Kean company before it reached Annapolis, see Thomas Clark Pollack, *The Philadelphia Theatre in The Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1933), pp. 6–7; and George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, 15 vols. (New York, 1927–49), 1: 32–43.

3. Names of members of the company, known to have performed in New York, follow: Walter Murray and Thomas Kean, managers; Nancy George; Mrs. Leigh; Mr. Marks; Mr. Moore; Master Dickey Murray; Mrs. Osborne and her daughter, Miss Osborne; Mr. Scott; Mr. Taylor; John Tremaine; Charles Somerset Woodham.

the *Gazette* of January 2, 1751, suggests:

> John Lammond, Musician
>
> Hereby gives notice, that if any gentlemen should want music to their balls or merry makings, upon application made, they shall be diligently waited upon by
>
> Their humble servant
>
> John Lammond
>
> The said Lammond having a good and able horse, will undertake journeys, to any part of the Province, with the utmost expedition and fidelity to the full satisfaction of any gentlemen, who are pleased to employ him.

Although the company had announced that their performance was to be given at the "New Theatre," one can merely conjecture about the architecture and appointments of this building. Andrew Burnaby, traveling through North America a few years later, found a company of actors performing in Malborough, Maryland, in a theater which he described in his *Travels through North America 1759 and 1760* as "a neat, convenient tobacco-house, well fitted up for the purpose."[4] And Ferdinand Marie Bayard, a French citizen, described the theater at the smart resort of Bath (known today as Berkeley Springs, West Virginia) as "a log house whose interior corresponds to the simplicity of its architecture."[5] Although in 1771 Annapolis could boast a playhouse which Charles Durang described as "the first brick theatre in America,"[6] the early theater in the Maryland capital may have resembled the house seen by the French traveller in the smaller city of Bath; or it may, like the theater seen by Burnaby in Upper Marlborough, have been a utilitarian structure that served more than one master. Tradition places it on Duke of Gloucester Street.

Dark as are the clouds that envelop the members of the company, the physical playhouse, and the matter of music in the production of Maryland's first advertized stage offering, they do part sufficiently to reveal the date of the first professional acting in Maryland. Admitting the year 1752 as marking the debut, we find Annapolis among the first five cities in the colonies to offer plays performed by a regular company who derived their livelihood from their acting talents.

Maryland, however, is not important in a study of the early playwrights in the colonies. Granted, Anthony Aston, an English stroller and adventurer who claimed that he wrote a play on the subject of America, visited Maryland in 1702 or 1703. But the play is not preserved, and even if he did write such a play, Maryland is only loosely associated with it, for in a sketch of his life, which he

4. Rufus Rockwell Wilson, ed. (New York, 1904), p. 80. Burnaby is unquestionably describing the "new" theater prepared by the Hallam-Douglass Company for their visit to Upper Marlborough in 1760.

5. *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia with a Description of Philadelphia and Baltimore, in 1791*, ed. and trans. Ben C. McCary (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1950), p. 39.

6. Charles Durang, *History of the Philadelphia Stage, 1749–1821*, First Series (Philadelphia, 1854–56), Chapter 3.

prefixed to his *Fool's Opera;* or, *The Taste of The Age Written by Mat Medley* and printed in London about 1730, Aston announced: "You are to know me as a Gentleman, Lawyer, Poet, Actor, Soldier, Exciseman, Publican; in England, Scotland, Ireland, New-York, East and West Jersey, Maryland, Virginia (on both sides Chesapeek), North and South Carolina, South Florida, Bahama's, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and often a Coaster by all the same."[7] Assuming that Aston did write the play he claimed, his would not be the first play in English set down in what is now the United States.

That distinction is generally accorded to *Ye Bare and Ye Cubb*, probably written in 1665 by William Darby of Accomac County, Virginia, which has not survived. *Androbores, A B[i]ographical Farce in Three Acts, viz: The Senate, The Consistory and The Apotheosis*, probably written by Robert Hunter, Governor of the Province of New York, and printed in New York in 1714, is of historical interest as being the first printed play that has survived, but it may never have been acted. Neither of these early contributions to the colonial stage warrants more than mention in a consideration of the theater in Maryland, for all the plays performed in Annapolis were those that had already proved popular in England. The first play written in Maryland was by Hugh Henry Brackenridge, a one-time schoolmaster probably in the Washington Academy in Somerset County, where he is believed to have taught for a short while after his graduation from Princeton in 1771. His play was probably first acted by his students, but was not published until the Revolution, and then in Philadelphia.[8]

This history of the theater in colonial Maryland cannot be separated from its cultural setting, which fortunately is reflected in contemporary accounts of the *Maryland Gazette*. Maryland's first successful newspaper, begun in 1726 in Annapolis, was published by William Parks, Printer of the Province, and appeared weekly until Parks left for Williamsburg; there he started to publish his *Virginia Gazette* in 1736. Jonas Green came from Philadelphia to accept appointment as Postmaster and Printer for the Province of Maryland, and on January 17, 1745, he launched the *Maryland Gazette* which he edited for more than twenty years, part of the time with his wife, Anna Catherine, who became sole editor after her husband's death.

Jonas Green had a convivial spirit. He was a popular member of the Tuesday Club, founded in 1745 by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, and more than likely he was host to Benjamin Franklin when the postmaster general visited Annapolis in January of 1754.[9] Like Addison and Steele, Jonas was imbued with a strong moral purpose as well as with a keen scent for news; and when he announced his

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7. (London: Printed for T. Payne, [c. 1730]), p. 15. A discussion of this thin volume is to be found in Oscar G. Sonneck, *Early Opera in America* (New York, 1915), pp. 4–8.
8. Hugh Henry Brackenridge [1748–1816], *The Battle of Bunker's Hill* (Philadelphia, 1776); *The Death of General Montgomery in Storming the City of Quebec* (Norwich, 1777).
9. Robert R. Hare, "Electro Vitrifrico in Annapolis: Mr. Franklin Visits The Tuesday Club," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 58 (March 1963): 62–66.

intention of printing a weekly paper, he promised that he would always have a "due regard to whatever may conduce to the promotion of virtue and learning, the suppression of vice and immorality, and the instruction as well as the entertainment of our readers."

Before 1752 the entertainment was principally confined to horse races, cudgelling, wrestling, exhibitions, illuminations, balls, and lavish dinners. For example, Jonas reported a race run on May 30, 1745, "at John Conner's in Anne Arundel County [for] the sum of ten pounds currency," and another run on September 17 of the same year "at Mr. Murdock's Old Fields, near Queen Ann Town in Prince George's County," when thirty pounds was offered as the purse for the fastest "horse, mare, or gelding." At the October fair in "Baltimore Town," fairgoers were attracted by the promise that "a hat and ribbon of twenty-five shillings value [were] to be cudgelled for on the second day, and a pair of London pumps to be wrestled for on the third day." On May 10 and again on June 14, 1749, Ebenezer Kinnersley, "a practitioner of the electrical art," sought an audience for his lectures through the columns of the *Gazette.*

In short, Jonas Green seems to have reported all public gatherings; it is unlikely that he would have failed to notice theatrical offerings had there been any. However, it is more than likely that school boys and other nonprofessional theatrical groups did exercise their talents for families and friends before the Murray-Kean company found their way to Annapolis. And certain it is that the city did not suffer for want of entertainment, though there was none of the stage variety. Seventeen clubs were flourishing within the town limits and in the nearby countryside, among them, "The Mason," "The Drumstick Club," "The Red Horse," "The Lunatick," and "The South River Club," perhaps the oldest of them all.

Annapolis, the home of the colonial governor, was the center of society and culture in Maryland, and the tastes and influence of its inhabitants extended beyond the boundaries of the province. Affluent plantation-owners wished their offspring to be instructed in the arts as well as in the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and although many sent their children back to England to be educated, others advertised in the *Gazette* for tutors who would live on the family estates and take over the teaching of the young. Sometimes classes in special arts were offered through the news columns. "At Kent School ... young gentlemen may be instructed in fencing and dancing by very good masters," announced the *Gazette* of April 26, 1745; on July 16, 1752, M. Van Braam declared that he would begin "to teach French on Monday next at Mr. Saumaien's...."

Children less fortunately situated than those to whom French, fencing, and dancing were a necessary part of education were also considered by willing tutors, and school masters were often sought for public instruction. An advertisement in the *Gazette* of June 21, 1745, is typical: "Any person qualified for a school-mas-

ter, according to the directions of an Act of Assembly of this Province, entitled, *An Act for The Encouragement of Learning*, etc., upon his application to the visitors of the public school of St. Mary's County may find suitable encouragement." Gradually the colonists were building a sophisticated, cohesive urban life, rich in social, intellectual, and artistic activities; and drama, a peculiarly social art, required such a life to support it.

Although theatrical productions in Maryland were not advertised before 1752, residents of the colony did not lack other forms of entertainment, and the *Maryland Gazette* was on hand to announce the events. On April 16, 1746, the Duke of Cumberland defeated at Culloden rebel forces under the Stuart Prince Charles, who sought to restore his line to the throne of England. When the news reached Maryland, it was the occasion of celebrations that embraced all ranks and ages in the Province. In Annapolis, "the exit of the rebellion was celebrated by firing of guns, drinking of loyal healths, and other demonstrations of joy. There was a ball in the evening, the whole city was illuminated, and a great quantity of punch given amongst the populace at the bonfire on this occasion."[10] The South River Club "appointed a grand entertainment to be given at their clubhouse."[11] The gentlemen of Baltimore county made "great rejoicing"[12] and the less formal people of Cambridge proved themselves "true loyal subjects," for "after the ladies and gentlemen had refresh'd themselves with an elegant repast ... the mob set fire to an house ... which with the addition of several tar barrels, appeared like a burning mountain, and the owner of the house expressed such a spirit of joy on the occasion that he joined in the ring to dance round the bonfire. The evening concluded with a ball...."[13]

The spirit of gaiety that animated the townspeople of Maryland offered a congenial climate to the players. Restrictive ordinances against the theater that plagued actors in Philadelphia and Boston were not enacted in Annapolis or enforced in the South generally. Yet when they announced their first appearance the company somewhat timorously declared themselves as intending to go to Upper Marlborough as soon as "encouragement" failed in Annapolis. Their reception in the capital must have justified their hopes of success, since they remained in the city for six more performances.

The second offering of the players promised an evening of comedy for July 6. The main piece was *The Busy Body*, a work of 1709 written by Susannah Centlivre, the wife of Queen Ann's cook. This play had held the stage for more than fifty years and was destined to hold it at least fifty more, for in 1819 the London actor and publisher William Oxberry attested to its popularity in his

10. *Gazette*, April 29, 1746.
11. *Gazette*, July 8, 1746.
12. *Gazette*, Aug. 8, 1746.
13. *Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1746.

New English Drama, a collection of plays performed "at the Theatres Royal." Characteristic of all the plays of Mrs. Centlivre, *The Busy Body* abounds in stratagems. The problems of the play are to unite Sir George Airy and Miranda in spite of Miranda's guardian, Sir Francis Gripe, who intends to wed her himself; and to win for Charles, Sir Gripe's son, the beautiful Isabinda whose father, Sir Jealous Traffick, would wed her to a Spanish merchant. The meddling and blunders of the busybody Marplot, though well-intentioned, almost defeat the devices of the young lovers, whose rapid adjustment to new situations provides the humor of the farce. The afterpiece was again Garrick's *Lying Valet*. To the advertisement announcing the program, the following notice was appended: "As the company have now got their hands, cloaths, etc. compleat, they now confirm their resolution of going to Upper Marlborough, as soon as ever encouragement fails here." The players had dropped the claim of being "the Company of Comedians from Virginia," and henceforth called themselves merely "the Company of Comedians." So they were designated for their performance on Monday, July 13. Again they chose a well-tried comedy, George Farquhar's *The Beaux Stratagem*, first produced at Drury Lane in 1707 and never off the stage since its original performance.

In the last years of the seventeenth century, the nonjuring bishop Jeremy Collier had struck out at contemporary drama, holding it responsible for the corruption of English morals. Although his *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* did not at once stem the tide of Restoration comedy and although Farquhar was one of those playwrights who attempted to answer Collier's charges, the salutary effect of the clergyman's work is evident in *The Beaux Stratagem*, Farquhar's last play. Here the setting is rural, not the closed atmosphere of the London drawing room; and the characters are not brittle and scintillating as they regularly were in that wittiest of all *genres*, Restoration comedy. The play concerns the efforts of Aimwell and Archer to mend their fortunes by marriage, and with this aim they travel to the country—to Litchfield. Their plan is that one will serve as master, the other as servant, in each town that they visit, so that each may have a chance to marry an heiress; the other will share in her fortune. Basically, then, the play begins on the Restoration footing of outwitting the unsophisticated. However, when the goal is in view, after Aimwell has declared himself to be his brother, Viscount Aimwell, he has a twinge of conscience and confesses his imposture to the heiress Dorinda, only to discover that his brother has died and he is indeed a Viscount. The midnight high jinks that result from Archer's stealing into the bedroom of Mrs. Sullen involve all the principals when the house is invaded by thieves, and the play ends with the inference that Archer will have as his bride Mrs. Sullen, whose husband agrees to a divorce, a new stage solution for the problems of unhappy marriage.

This breezy comedy of rural confusion was followed by *The Virgin Unmask'd*, an early farce by Henry Fielding, whose novel *Tom Jones* had been published just

three years before the opening of the theater in Annapolis. That theater would appear to have increased its capacity since the first performance, for gallery seats were now available at five shillings. Although earlier announcements had offered box and pit seats, boxes in the first colonial theaters were generally roped-off sections of seats in the pit. But the word *gallery* in the advertisement admits of no interpretation save the obvious one that the players had somehow managed to provide a second floor, and the need for it suggests the town's enthusiastic acceptance of the theatrical fare that had so far been offered.

On July 20 Farquhar was again the playwright whose comedy *The Recruiting Officer* provided the main attraction of the evening. In his goodnatured dedication to this play, Farquhar admits that the work grew out of some "little turns of humor" which with he met. It is generally accepted as reflecting the author's personal experiences as a lieutenant in the regiment of Roger Boyle, the first Earl of Orrery, who was himself a noble author of rhymed heroic drama. The scenes of Farquhar's play seem to be strung together on a slender plot, like episodes in a picaresque novel. Captain Plume and Sargeant Kite are recruiting in a country town, the Captain using the device of making love to the ladies who, to be rid of their rural swains, encourage the men to enlist in the service. Sylvia, daughter of Justice Balance, is in love with Plume; but she has promised not to marry without her father's consent. This she finally receives when she is brought before her father dressed as a man, and he delivers her over to Captain Plume as a recruit. The rival recruiting officer, the braggart Captain Brazen, is overreached by the rich Melinda, who contrives to unite him with her maid. Like *The Beaux Stratagem*, *The Recruiting Officer* was nearly fifty years old when it reached Annapolis, but both plays continued to hold the stage in the colonies, perhaps not only for their own highspirited fooling, but also for the additional reason that they reflected in their rural settings and resourceful characters the colonial image of itself. The farce that followed was another of Fielding's short efforts, *Beau in the Suds*.

The first serious play undertaken by the Murray-Kean company in Annapolis was *The London Merchant; or, the History of George Barnwell*, written by George Lillo and originally produced at Drury Lane in 1731. The plot involves the destruction of an innocent young man, George Barnwell, by a scheming village Cleopatra, Millwood, who entices him to steal from his employer, the honest merchant Thorowgood, and finally drives him to stab to death his benevolent uncle. George and Millwood are ultimately hanged, but not before the virtuous Maria Thorowgood and the good apprentice Trueman have wept over him in his prison cell and Thorowgood has sentimentalized that though George's crimes were very great his temptations were also great. Of Millwood the pious merchant prays, "Heaven be better to her than her fears. May she prove a warning to others, a monument of mercy to herself."

Taking as his source an old ballad, Lillo met the contemporary demand for dramas of everyday life with a strong moral message. How well he succeeded in

gauging the temper of his times may be judged by the fact that *The London Merchant* held the stage for twenty consecutive nights after its first performance and then became a stock piece. Even literary ladies commented favorably in the *Gentleman's Magazine*: "The distresses of great personages have ceased to affect the town," and "none but a prostitute could find fault with this tragedy."[14] Until well into the nineteenth century, it was regularly acted in London at Easter and Christmas as a warning to apprentices. Lillo himself described his domestic tragedy in prose as a "tale of private woe: A London 'prentice ruined," and Alexander Pope praised the play warmly, although he did believe the language was often too elevated for the personages. On the continent, Diderot in France and Lessing in Germany were inspired by it to create serious drama dealing with middle-class life.

We must assume, however, that for all its influence on sentimentalists down to and after Richardson, *The London Merchant* was not a success on the stage in colonial Annapolis. It was repeated there only twice: once by Hallam's London Company in 1760, and once by the New American Company in 1769. Perhaps the spirit of self-reliance, of rugged individualism, and a serene faith in material progress that conditioned the economic activity of the yeoman farmer as well as the successful planter during the colonial period were repelled by the weakness of Barnwell's character. Perhaps, too, the ladies of the new world, as busy as their men in the effort to turn the forests into farmland and bring domestic tranquility to their large households, found the coquettish ways of Millwood tiresomely trivial and absurdly alien to their own way of life. And perhaps those apprentices in the counting houses to whom the play was directed were absent from the Annapolis audiences. True, there were indentured artisans and bond servants in the Maryland province, but the scarcity of labor made them much in demand, and soon enabled them to become masters of their fate. The abundance of land and natural resources insured even the seven-year redemptioner of his ultimate place in the sun. Besides, there was precious little money to steal. The English colonies, unlike the Spanish, lacked gold or silver mines, and the only way for them to obtain hard money was to sell more products abroad than they imported. Tobacco, the reward of back-stretching labor, was the money crop of Maryland. Hence, there were few or no Thorowgoods to defraud or wealthy uncles to murder for their gold. Whatever the reason for their lack of interest in *The London Merchant*, posterity has tended to agree with the mid-eighteenth century theatergoers in Annapolis, whose tastes seem to be reflected in Charles Lamb's estimate that Lillo's play is "a nauseous sermon." Colley Cibber's ballad opera *Damon and Philida* served as the afterpiece to raise the spirits of the audience and conclude the evening's entertainment on Monday, July 27.

The following Friday, Mrs. Centlivre was again the author of the main

14. Quoted in John Doran, *Annals of the English Stage or Their Majesties' Servants*, 3 vols. (New York, n.d.), 2: 32.

attraction when her comedy of intrigue *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* headed the bill. The play was first produced in London in 1718, while the writings of George Fox were still discussed over drawing-room teacups. Although the Calverts, Lord Proprietors of Maryland, were Catholics, as early as 1649 they gave assurances of religious toleration in the colonies. Save for the period of Puritan domination under Cromwell in England, when the "Act Concerning Religion" was repealed by the Puritan-dominated Assembly in Maryland, freedom of conscience was an individual and legal right. However, in 1694 the capital was moved from Catholic St. Mary's to Protestant Annapolis, and after 1700 large numbers of Quakers and other religious sects immigrated to Maryland. That the performance of Mrs. Centlivre's comedy reflects opposition to the newcomers is possible, but hardly likely, for even in the Quaker stronghold of Philadelphia, *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* was popular, and the frequency of its production suggests that it pleased the colonial audiences from New York to Charlestown. George Fox claimed the name *Quaker* was first given to himself and his followers in the Society of Friends because he "bid them tremble at the word of the Lord," and Mrs. Centlivre uses the word to describe Obadiah Prim, the pious guardian of the sprightly Ann Lovely. Colonel Fainall, who seeks to win approval for his marriage to Ann, impersonates Simon Pure, "a quaking preacher"; but before the marriage can take place, "the real Simon Pure" arrives and proves himself worthy of his name. Yet a second work in the farcial mold was offered to the audience when Fielding's *Beau in the Suds* climaxed the evening's program.

Only three days later, the players were ready once again to show their wares. This time they chose Joseph Addison's single venture in comedy, *The Drummer: or The Haunted House*, a frigid piece that has overtones of the trials of Odysseus in purging his house of Penelope's lovers. The play concerns itself with the return from war of the reportedly dead Sir George Truman, who must clear his house of Lady Truman's lovers, including one who, to win the lady, has disguised himself as a ghostly drummer. The afterpiece was Charles Coffey's *The Devil to Pay: or The Wives Metamorphos'd*. Since Addison's comedy had proved a failure when it was first produced in London in 1715, we may fairly assume that it met with an unfavorable reception in Annapolis. Whatever the reason, the Murray-Kean company hurried to fulfill their early promise of moving to Upper Marlborough when "encouragement" failed in Annapolis.

Very probably traveling up the Patuxent River and along the Western Branch to the city, they arrived in time to open on August 20 with the same fare they had offered at their first appearance in Annapolis: *The Beggar's Opera* and *The Lying Valet*. Now they announced themselves as the "Company of comedians from Annapolis," hoping to attract the holiday-minded crowds drawn to Upper Marlborough by the races. Since Annapolis was the social as well as the political capital and the arbiter of taste for the province, the implication that the company had pleased the sophisticated taste of that city would assure it a warm reception in any smaller city in Maryland.

On Thursday, August 27, the *Gazette* announced a second performance of the same program for the following Thursday, September 14,[15] "at the request of the ancient and honorable society of free and accepted Masons[16] ... with instrumental music to each air, given by a set of private gentlemen: and a solo on the French horn: also a mason's song by Mr. Woodham, with a grand chorus." To all this, the players added the farce! Tickets to the pit (7s. 6d.) and the gallery (5s.) were available at Mr. Barry's. Of this second performance in Upper Marlborough, Oscar Sonneck wrote, "we have to look to Upper Marlborough for the place where, for the first time in the history of opera in America, the employment of an orchestra is recorded"[17] How many private gentlemen made up the "set" and what instruments they played, besides the French horn, we shall never know; but the implication is clear that the musicians were members of one of the concert groups of music clubs that colonial America boasted in myriad numbers. As it had been in Annapolis, the house was called "the new theatre," but it seems logical to assume that the performances in Upper Marlborough were offered in the "Great Ball-Room" where for October 18 the *Gazette* announced "a concert of Music... by several Gentlemen, for the Benifit of Talbot County Charity School."[18]

After their triumph in Upper Marlborough, the company returned to Annapolis. The fall days were getting shorter, so now the performance was set to begin "precisely at 6 o'clock" for the opening of Farquhar's *Constant Couple: or a Trip to The Jubilee*. This rowdy farce had delighted London audiences in 1700, primarily because of the antics of one character, Sir Harry Wildair, "an airy gentleman, affecting humorous gaiety and freedom in his behavior." Although the part was originally acted by Robert Wilks, it was taken over by Peg Woffington at the Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin in 1740, and earned for her an immediate engagement at Covent Garden, where as "Sir Harry" she became the toast of London and the inamorata of David Garrick. To the end of the century, the part was occasionally played by women and provided one of the favorite

15. A matter of interest in the announcement is the fact that although the date of the newspaper is August 27, the "Thursday Next" is set down as the 14th of September, when by normal reckoning it should be September 3. The *Gazette* for September 14, however, makes it clear that no error was committed: "This Day, by the late Act of Parliament ... is to be reckoned ... as the Fourteenth Day of September, (although Yesterday was the Second); ... the year is ever hereafter to begin absolutely on the first day of January yearly, and the absurd method of beginning it on the twenty-fifth day of a Month exploded...."

16. Although there is no record to indicate that Upper Marlborough had a Masonic Lodge in 1752, Masonic Clubs were springing up in various towns in the province, and these "Clubs" often took the official name of the order. As a matter of record, George Washington became a member of the Fredericksburg, Virginia, Lodge on November 4, 1752, less than a month after the notice of the Upper Marlborough performance.

17. *Early Opera in America* (New York, 1915), p. 18.

18. It is generally held by residents of Marlborough that the "Great Ball Room" was in fact the Assembly Room, just behind Old Marlborough House, Dr. Patrick Hepburn's "New dwelling place," as described on the plat of the land records of 1722 at Prince George's County Court House, Liber D, folio 35.

"breeches parts" for actresses of suitable proportions.[19] The popular *Lying Valet* served as the afterpiece.

The prevailing custom of giving an actor the benefit of a full evening's box-office take began in Maryland when on October 21 the performance was "for the benefit of Mr. Eyanson," who may have been a faithful local amateur who had no income for his efforts and was now to receive his reward. Of Mr. Eyanson there is not an earlier record, and whence he came or whither he went are destinations lost to posterity. Like too many actors of the early years, he remains in the history of the theater as one who must be addressed without familiarity. On October 21, Mr. Eyanson hoped the gentleman and ladies would "favor him with their company" at Addison's *Cato*, a tragedy that George Washington greatly admired.[20]

Set in Utica in the year 46 B.C., the play unfolds in halting blank verse the last actions of Marcus Cato, the republican, who has refused to collaborate with Caesar. He is betrayed by the senator Sempronius and the Numidian general, Syphax, but strongly defended by the Numidian Prince, Juba. After realizing that resistance against the vast army of the dictator is hopeless, Cato provides for the escape of his followers before he takes his own life. Although there is love interest in the triangle afforded by the two sons of Cato who are both in love with Lucia, the daughter of a faithful senator, and in the love of Juba for Cato's daughter Marcia, love, as Voltaire was pleased to suggest, does not dominate the play which regularly substitutes oratory for action. Well-supported by the Whigs for political reasons and by the Tories who would not appear behind-hand in republican sentiments, *Cato* at its original production in 1713 held the stage for thirty-five nights and was then given at Oxford, Addison's university. As Pope wrote to Sir William Trumbull, "Cato was not so much the wonder of Rome in his days, as he is of Britain in ours." The neoclassical tragedy was followed by David Garrick's farce *Miss in Her Teens*, first offered in London in 1747, with Garrick as Fribble.

Although there is no evidence in the *Gazette* that the company ever fulfilled the early promise to travel south to Piscataway and Port Tobacco, we have seen that they did go to Upper Marlborough; and the *Gazette* of October 19, 1752, announces for "Thursday next, the 26th of October, at the theatre in Chester-Town, on Charles River, by a Company of Comedians, will be performed *The Beggar's Opera:* likewise a farce call's *The Lying Valet*. To begin precisely at Six

19. See Hugh F. Rankin, *The Theatre in Colonial America* (Chapel Hill, 1965), p. 39, for a conjecture that Mrs. Becceley failed to play Sir Henry Wildair in Williamsburg because "her figure was not all it should have been."

20. In *Washington and The Theatre* (New York, 1899), Paul Leicester Ford points to quotations that Washington drew from the play as evidence of the General's admiration and quotes a letter from Colonel William Bradford to his sister, describing a production of the play given by the men stationed at Valley Forge in the Spring following the dreary Winter of 1778. It was eminently suitable as a military production, for Cato's words, "What pity is it that we can die but once to serve our country . . . " have a ring of patriotism that echoed in the political forums of the American Revolution.

of the clock." Curiously, this advertisement describes the players as "a" company rather than as "the" company. The definite article was regularly used by the Murray-Kean company, and it is possible but not probable that the performance scheduled for Chestertown was the offering of another group of strollers. But since the program was identical with that which opened the "new theatre" in Annapolis and the "new theatre" in Upper Marlborough, it seems to me that this performance was given by the same players, who may have gone from Chester-Town to other port towns, for, like all early travellers in Maryland as well as in the other provinces, they moved by water and may very prudently have offered their talents at any likely port. They had but to find a suitable warehouse, assembly hall, or tavern, post handbills, and wait for the curious to assemble.

Even though the players had abandoned the capital, the *Gazette* did not lack notices of entertainment in the fall of 1752. On November 9, a remarkable exhibition of wax works, "just arriv'd from London" opened "to be seen any hour in the day, from VIII to XII in the forenoon, and from II in the afternoon, to X to night, at the house of Mr. Joshua Frazier, in Annapolis, to be exhibited by Richard Brickell and Company. (Having his Honour the President's Permission)." The description that was intended to attract the populace to the exhibition I copy in its entirety:

> Three curious FIGURES in full proportion, in Wax Work, in their Hungarian Habits.
>
> *First*, a lively Representation of the present Queen of *Hungary*, sitting on a throne of State, with a Scepter in her Hand.
>
> *Secondly*, the *Arch Duke* her Son, standing on a Pedestal.
>
> *Thirdly*, a Pandour, in his Military Dress. also, a curious Brass Piece of Ordnance, approv'd of by the *Royal Society of London*, that may be charged and discharged twenty times in one Minute: with a Variety of Prospects of Buildings, Garden, and Places of note in *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Italy*.
>
> Their Stay in this Place will be short, and the Price for Grown Persons is Two Shillings and Six pence, and for Children in Proportion.

It was probably lucky for the players that they were out of Annapolis when the fever against profanity ran high, as the *Gazette* of November 23 suggests:

> Tuesday last the worshipful Justices of Anne Arundel County, then sitting in Court, ordered a Person, who swore profanely in their Hearing, to be publicly whipp'd, which was immediately put into execution.

In true Addisonian tones, Jones Green editorialized:

> If every Magistrate, when out of Court, were to take due Notice of all profane Oaths, and punish the Offenders as the law directs, without Exception, it would doubtless put a Stop to that senseless, abominable, and wicked Practice.

That Williamsburg was enjoying theatrical offerings while the players were

absent from Annapolis is evident from a notice in the *Maryland Gazette* of December 14, headed *Williamsburg, November 17*:

> The Emperor of the *Cherokee* nation with his Empress and their Son the young Prince, attended by several of his Warriors and great Men and their Ladies, were received at the Palace by his Honour the Governor and were that Evening entertained at the Theatre, with the Play (the Tragedy of *Othello*) and a Pantomime Performance, which gave them great Surprise, as did the fighting with naked Swords on the Stage, which occasioned the Empress to order some about her to go and prevent their killing one another....

A second reference to the theater in the Virginia Capital appeared in the *Gazette* (February 1, 1753) under the words "*Williamsburg, December 8* [1752]":

> Last Friday Night about eleven o'clock, the Play House in this City was broke open by one white Man and two Negroes, who violently assaulted and wounded Patrick Malony, Servant to the Company, by knocking him down, and throwing him upon the Iron Spikes, one of which run into his legs by which he hung for a considerable Time, till he was relieved by some Negroes: The Villains that perpetrated this horrid Fact escaped, but a Reward is offered for apprehending Them, and as the aforesaid Patrick Maloney continues dangerously ill of his Wound, it is hoped they will be taken and brought to Justice.

The Williamsburg players were a troupe led from London by Lewis Hallam. They arrived in Jamestown during the same month that the Murray-Kean company opened in Annapolis, and it is possible that members of the Murray-Kean company joined forces with the Hallam company during the nearly two-month period from October 26 to December 11 when there is no evidence of players in Maryland. But we must wait for eight years before the distinguished London Company reaches Maryland.[21] Meanwhile, the Murray-Kean company returned to Annapolis.

On December 11 "the Company of Comedians" was ready with the first professional production of Shakespeare in Annapolis. They advertised their offering as *King Richard III* "Written by *Shakespeare*"; but it was in fact Shakespeare's play accommodated to the taste of the eighteenth century by Colley Cibber. "The Part of King Richard to be performed by Mr. WYNELL, The Part of Richmond to be performed by Mr. HERBERT; From the Theater in Williamsburg."[22]

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21. William Dunlap in *A History of The American Theatre* (New York, 1832), p. 8, relying upon the clouded memory of Lewis Hallam, Junior, who as a child of twelve accompanied his actor parents and their troupe to Colonial America, places the Hallam Company in Annapolis in 1752. Durang, who also relied upon Hallam, fell into the same error. But see George Seilhamer, *A History of the American Theatre*, 3 vols. (New York, 1888-91), 1. The *Maryland Gazette* does not carry a notice of a performance in Annapolis by the Hallam Company until 1760.

22. Dunlap, p. 5, lists "Mr. Herbert" and "Mr. Winnell. or Wynel" as actors who accompanied Hallam to the Colonies.

The curtain was scheduled "to draw up at six o'clock to whatever Company ... then in the House." But the "house" in Annapolis no longer resembled the theater that had presented the last offering of the comedians in October. Now, the actors boast, "The House is entirely lined throughout, fit for the Reception of Ladies and Gentlemen; and they have also raised a Porch at the Door, that will keep out the Inclemency of the Weather." The fact that the "lining" of the house is worthy of comment suggests that the interior may indeed have been bare logs before the decorations were added, a theater that would accord with Bayard's description of a log house "whose interior corresponds to the simplicity of its architecture." The gala opening also included Garrick's farce *Miss in Her Teens*.

Farquhar's *Constant Couple* was announced for the following Wednesday, December 13. Here, for the first time in Maryland, several "principal Parts" are accounted for—a regular practice of the Hallam Company. Mr. Wynell, Mr. Kean, Mr. Herbert, and Miss Osborne are the names all familiar but that of the lady, who had played with the Murray-Kean company in New York and remained there with Robert Upton when he took over the playhouse abandoned by Murray in favor of the southern circuit.

The last theatrical advertisement of the season appeared in the *Gazette* of December 14, 1752. *King Richard III* was the attraction, and again the part of the King was performed by Wynell and the part of Richmond by Herbert. Again, the farce was *The Lying Valet*. This, however, was a benefit performance; not for an actor, as we might expect, but for the Talbot County Charity School. So far as I have been able to discover, this is the first philanthropic performance advertised in Maryland. We are not told what contribution the players made to the cause or whether they made any at all; but the *Gazette*, of April 12, 1753, suggests that they did:

> Whereas the Trustees for the Charity School lately opened in Talbot County, did, at a meeting on the 2nd instant, agree upon a Plan for building a House, capable of accommodating Twenty poor Children, This is to give Notice to all workmen, or others, willing to undertake the said Building, that the Plan may be seen at my House ... By order of the Trustees
>
> Thomas Bacon
> Rector of St. Peter's

With the performance of *King Richard III*, the Murray-Kean company disappears forever from the colonial scene. Following are the statistics culled from the press in Maryland: twelve performances were advertised in Annapolis; two in Upper Marlborough, and one in Chestertown. When the curtain went down in December of 1752, it ended the first professional theatrical season in Maryland. Perhaps the Murray-Kean company was not a great troupe, but it served to whet many appetites for the first great acting company in colonial America, The Hallam-Douglass Company, that ventured into Maryland eight years later.

Lafayette and the Maryland Agricultural Society: 1824–1832

LUCRETIA RAMSEY BISHKO

A CENTURY AND A HALF AGO, ON AUGUST 15, 1824, THE PACKET SHIP *CADMUS*, Captain Allyn, dropped anchor at Staten Island. She was saluted by thirteen guns, for she carried to the United States a long-expected guest, General Lafayette. The Revolutionary hero spent the day at the home of the vice president, Daniel Tompkins, and as a rainbow stretched from the Narrows to the Battery, committeemen and well-wishers, among them the postmaster of Baltimore, John S. Skinner, crowded to shake his hand.[1] The next day Lafayette crossed New York Bay to Manhattan to begin a triumphal tour of New England and the Hudson valley.

All the latent patriotism of the last half century burst forth during Lafayette's year-long visit to the twenty-four states, as Americans rummaged in their memories for events in the Revolution. School children were marshalled in ranks to see the Nation's Guest; maidens clothed in white sang odes of welcome before triumphal arches; young gentlemen banded together as Lafayette Guards to form his escort; ladies waved their handkerchiefs from crowded windows as he passed in his barouche; city fathers dined and toasted him; and with tears in their eyes tottering veterans and old companions in arms wrung his hand. Imperturbably affable, Lafayette charmed everyone as he replied to complimentary address after address, called punctiliously on the widows of fallen comrades, attended church services with ecumenical impartiality, and, with his scratch wig on his fading locks and his lame leg stretched out stiffly in front of him, sat through many a ball.

Maryland, when her turn as hostess came, was determined not to be outdone.

Mrs. Lucretia Ramsey Bishko is a resident of Albemarle County, Virginia.

1. John S. Skinner to Lafayette, Baltimore, May 13, 1826; cf. same to same, n. p., n. d., but written August 4, 1826, recalling the rainbow and JSS's visit to Brooklyn Navy Yard with Lafayette August 18, 1824. (The Arthur H. and Mary Marden Dean Collection of Lafayette, Cornell University Library.

The author wishes to thank the staff of the Department of Rare Books, Cornell University Library, for their assistance when she visited Cornell, and the Librarian, Donald D. Eddy, for permission to quote from the letters mentioned in the footnotes below, where they will be cited as from the Lafayette Collection.)

In the bright sunshine of the morning of October 7, the steamboat *United States* carried Lafayette and Baltimore's welcoming committees up the Patapsco to Fort McHenry, where Governor Samuel Stevens and dignitaries of national and state armed forces awaited his arrival. Here the governor, "in behalf of the people of Maryland, welcomed him in very feeling and appropriate terms—whereupon he was introduced to the Society of Cincinnati, assembled within the Fort under that identical tent in which he had so often shared the frugal meal and aided the counsels of WASHINGTON. The 'TENT SCENE' was impressive beyond description," reported Postmaster Skinner, wearing his second hat as editor of the *American Farmer*. "After taking some refreshment at the Fort," this account continues, Lafayette "was conducted by military escort under triumphal arches and the cheerings of 100,000 citizens, to the Exchange, where he was received by the city authorities, and in their name welcomed by Mr. JOHNSON, the Mayor. . . . On that day he dined at the elegant apartments prepared for him at Mr. Barney's Inn, in company with his old revolutionary compatriots and a goodly number of the corporation." [2] Thus the first day of Lafayette's October sojourn in Maryland followed the familiar pattern of pageantry, banqueting, and reminiscence set in the northeastern states.

In Baltimore, however, there was a lively group whose attention was focused on the present and future progress of the state, as well as on the illustrious past. This was the Maryland Agricultural Society, then in its sixth year, which seized upon a contemporary facet of the General's career to add a distinctive touch to his reception, and took a step which was to have repercussions throughout the rest of his life. Amid all the pomp and circumstance of the welcoming ceremonies, the Society found time to hold a special meeting and appoint a committee "to present to Gen. LA FAYETTE an expression of the affectionate regards of the Society," as John S. Skinner, tripling in brass as the Society's corresponding secretary, recorded in the *American Farmer*. On October 8, Skinner goes on, "at 11 o'clock, Mr. R. SMITH, as Chairman of the committee, addressed the General as follows:

> We are, General, a deputation from the landed interest of the State. The Maryland Agricultural Society have appointed us to express to you their high sense of the pleasure you have afforded them by your present visit to the U. States, and, at the same time, their warm acknowledgements for the essential services you have rendered the American people in their mighty struggle for independence. . . . It is a source of no small gratification to our Society to learn, that you have yourself become a practical agriculturist, and that you are devoting to the cultivation of the soil as much of your time and attention, as your multifarious avocations will permit. Be this, however, as it may, it would afford us great pleasure, could you, consistently with existing engage-

2. *American Farmer*, 6 (October 15, 1824): 239. This weekly will be cited hereafter as *AF*. For other events of the weekend, see Edgar Ewing Brandon, *Lafayette, Guest of the Nation*, 3 vols. (Oxford, Ohio, 1954), 2: 119–47.

ments, favour us with your company at the next publick exhibition of our Society which is to take place in the course of next month.

Lafayette in reply "most feelingly assured the committee that he was under inexpressible obligations for this demonstration of kindness from the cultivators of the soil, and that he had, on this occasion, the more pleasure, as he had the honor of being himself a practical agriculturist—an honor of which he was particularly proud. Feeling, as he did, a deep interest in whatever may contribute to improvements in agriculture, he will have great satisfaction in attending the next meeting of the Society. And of this pleasure nothing shall deprive him but the occurrence of circumstances not within his control." The *American Farmer* item ends with the report that the General, his son George Washington Lafayette, and his secretary Auguste Levasseur, were elected honorary members of the Maryland Agricultural Society, and that "their Diplomas were delivered to them by the President; on the acceptance of which they expressed particular satisfaction." [3]

But Lafayette's cordial acceptance of the invitation extended by the committee added a new dimension to, and materially altered the Society's plans for, its fifth Agricultural Fair and Exhibition. The Board of Trustees had been busy preparing for this since the previous December, when a committee was appointed to prepare a scheme of premiums for the Exhibition of the Western Shore. Secretary Skinner solicited, through the *American Farmer*, hints from his readers for the "proper objects" of these,[4] and on January 16, 1824, was able to report that "many gentlemen have concluded to offer volunteer premiums of useful pieces of plate, for certain objects to be designated by themselves." [5]

Despite such generosity, the group's resources were not sufficient to finance an extensive list of premiums deemed necessary to stimulate the interest of farmers in the remoter districts of Maryland. The Society therefore sent its corresponding secretary to Annapolis to lobby for an act of incorporation and a grant of matching funds of $1000 for five years. The additional money would have enabled the Society to offer extra silver premiums for crops, to be awarded on the basis of certificates, and for articles of domestic manufacture, which could be easily transported by farmers' wives and daughters to sell at the exhibition. But Secretary Skinner's persuasion was only half successful—the act of incorporation was granted, but not the subsidy.[6]

Falling back, then, on the Society's own resources, the committee on premiums submitted a list of prizes which was canvassed and adopted by the Board on March 10. The committee appointed on May 12 to contract for the requisite

3. *AF*, 6 (October 15, 1824): 239–40.
4. *AF*, 5 (January 2, 1824): 328.
5. *AF*, 5 (January 16, 1824): 344.
6. *AF*, 5 (January 23, 1824): 352; (March 5, 1824): 400.

pieces of plate completed its task by September 10,[7] and in the October 8 issue of the *American Farmer*, which went to press two days early on October 6, there appeared the following notice, summing up the Society's decisions at this point:

"It will be remembered that the days fixed for the next Maryland Cattle Show to be held at the Maryland Tavern, on the Frederick Road, four miles from Baltimore, are *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday*, the 25th, 26th and 27th of this month (October). At said Show there will be premiums distributed consisting of various pieces of Silver Plate amounting to $1040." [8] These prizes were to be awarded for the best cultivated farms, crops, livestock, plowing, butter, cider, household manufactures, and implements of husbandry.

A comparison of this notice with one in the next issue, published after Lafayette had departed for Washington on October 11, shows that a splendid promotional scheme had sprung full-panoplied from some Jovian forehead since the Society's committee had interviewed the Farmer of La Grange:

> POSTPONEMENT OF THE MARYLAND CATTLE SHOW—*for the Western Shore.*
>
> This great annual festival of our farmers has been postponed to the 23d, 24th and 25th of Nov.
>
> Various considerations led to the adoption of this measure—first, the days previously fixed upon, happened to be on the days of the yearly meeting of Friends in this city. . . . It was thought, too, that the number of recent occasions for bringing the people from their homes, and especially the all-absorbing curiosity to see, and desire to pay respect to the '*Nation's Guest*,' would prevent many from so soon leaving their homes again, and finally, when Gen. *La Fayette* accepted the Diploma of Membership of our Society, he . . . expressed a strong desire to be present at our next exhibition; when if he can attend, as it is hoped and expected he may, the premiums will be delivered by *his hand*, to the fortunate competitors, with an inscription to that effect.[9]

This exciting new prospect gave the Society another month's leeway in which to perfect its arrangements for the exhibition, and to decide upon the entertainment to be offered the General and upon the estates where he could observe the most advanced machines and agricultural practices. The Board of Trustees met on November 3 at "Hayfields," the country seat of Colonel Nicholas Bosley, who, it was whispered, "would invite the inspection of the Committee appointed to award the premium for the best cultivated farm." Skinner, in the *Farmer* of November 5, reminded his readers of the Board's earlier resolution "requiring each member of the Board, and requesting each Member of the Society to bring, themselves, and to use their influence to prevail on their neighbours, to bring any thing on their farms of merit at all remarkable. Should this be done," he

7. *AF*, 6 (April 2, 1824): 10–11; 6 (May 21, 1824): 72; 6 (September 10, 1824): 200.
8. *AF*, 6 (October 8, 1824): 232.
9. *AF*, 6 (October 15, 1824): 240; and cf. (October 1, 1824): 224.

Invitation to a Lafayette Ball. Shields & Ashburn, Prs. *Maryland Historical Society*.

commented, "we shall have an exhibition at which we may be proud to have invited the 'NATION'S GUEST.' " [10]

The agriculturists of the Eastern Shore, not to be outdone, elected General Lafayette to honorary membership in their society, and a committee, consisting of Governor Stevens, Robert H. Goldsborough, and General Perry Benson, invited him and his suite to attend, on November 18, the cattle show at Easton—an event already postponed from election day. Lafayette, due to prior engagements in Virginia, was forced to decline this invitation, and thus the successful competitors on the Eastern Shore were deprived of the pleasure of receiving their silver prizes from his hand.[11]

The Western Shore's exhibition, by the time the General reached Baltimore on November 24, had already been in full swing for two days, and judging was

10. *AF*, 6 (November 5, 1824): 264.

11. *Ibid.*; postponement, *AF*, 6 (September 24, 1824): 216; Oswald Tilghman, comp., *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661–1681, compiled principally from the literary relics of the late Samuel Alexander Harrison, A. M., M. D.* (Baltimore, 1967), 2: 198–99. Tilghman (or Harrison) claims that the premiums awarded at both the Eastern and Western cattle shows were inscribed "after the recipient's name, 'From the Agricultural Society by the hands of Lafayette,' " and that some of these prizes still existed, much prized.

complete. "The FIRST DAY of this grand annual Farmers' festival passed most happily," the Baltimore *American* said. "The weather was uncommonly fine—and the display . . . far exceeded any thing hitherto witnessed. . . . The LADIES of the country, and of the city," it went on, "are respectfully invited to visit, between the hours of twelve and two o'clock to-day, at the Maryland tavern, the various specimens of household manufactures, and of butter." [12] There was something to see, for industrious and artistic women had taken seriously Skinner's invitation to bring articles of merit to the exhibition. The female invitees could admire Mrs. Mary Weilling's Lafayette counterpane, the leather gloves stamped "Lafayette" and another pair of wool, which a Miss Simmonds and a lady of Frederick County, overcome with womanly bashfulness, handed over to the Committee and Mr. Clotworthy Birnie for them to present to the Revolutionary hero. The male committee faced with judging the samples of hard soap, on the other hand, felt incompetent to decide on their comparative merits, and co-opted the aid of some of the feminine contingent. The name of the lady to whom they awarded John S. Skinner's volunteer premium was lost, and he was forced to ask, via the Baltimore *American* of November 25, that all the competitors call upon him before ten o'clock that morning to identify the winner. And in the same issue, in order to ensure that the ceremonies of the day should go off without a hitch, Skinner as corresponding secretary promulgated a sort of Napoleonic battle order for all participants.[13]

This carefully planned program was duly carried out on November 25, as Skinner reported in the *Farmer* next day:

> General LA FAYETTE, accompanied by the Honourable ROBERT SMITH, President of the Society, arrived on the ground about eleven o'clock. He was escorted to the field of Exhibition by [ex-]Governor SPRIGG, at the head of a detachment of his well disciplined Volunteer Cavalry, and was accompanied by his estimable Son, and Secretary, by the Mayor of our City . . . Governor BARBOUR, of Virginia, Governor DICKERSON, of New-Jersey . . . many Members of the Legislature of Maryland, and an honorable and numerous body guard of *substantial sunburnt Farmers.*
>
> On his entrance, a long avenue was formed by the members, through which he passed to the head of the enclosure, where plain and suitable arrangements had been made for his accommodation.
>
> In a short time General HARPER, by appointment of the Society, rose and delivered a very able, eloquent, and highly instructive, and gratifying, practical address; when he finished, the Chairman [*sic*] of the several Committees came forward and read their Reports, and the fortunate competitors being called, appeared, and passed through a large circle, formed by the members, to receive the trophies of their industry and skill, from the hands *of the gallant, the disinterested SOLDIER OF LIBERTY, the veteran companion of WASHINGTON,* and the unvarying friend of America. . . .

12. Baltimore *American*, November 24, p. 2. Cf. *AF*, 6 (November 26, 1824): 286, which repeats part of the newspaper item.
13. *AF*, 6 (December 3, 1824): 293; *American*, November 25, p. 2.

> It was, altogether, a spectacle so fascinating, so impressive, so productive of strong and interesting emotions as we can never hope again to witness; how striking was the mixture of alacrity and diffidence, of pride, and of reverence, with which every one stepped forward to receive his premium, with the smiles and the good wishes of one of the noblest champions that ever drew his sword in defence of human freedom! Let then these premiums be inscribed "By the Agricultural Society through the hands of *La Fayette*," and let them be handed down from generation to generation, to be cherished yet more and more, until the time shall arrive, which God forever postpone, that the American Farmer shall cease to sing at the tail of his plough, of LIBERTY and LA FAYETTE.[14]

As the recipients examined their prizes, Dr. James Smith, a member of the Society, presented the General with a vial of smallpox vaccine; the little girls learning to make silk buttons under the tutelage of a Mr. Bernhard demonstrated their skill and gave the visitor a set of buttons, a watch chain, and a tassel for his cane;[15] 250 people then sat down to a dinner catered by Watson and Harrington, and rose to drink twenty-eight toasts;[16] and the General was escorted back to Baltimore by the Lafayette Cadets and the Lafayette Chasseurs, whom he thanked for their pains.[17]

Agriculture continued as a recurrent theme throughout the rest of Lafayette's November stay. At seven in the evening after the culminating ceremony of the cattle show, "the General visited the Theatre to witness the performance of the favourite play of General Washington, the School for Scandal, and never was play better performed. . . . When the point of the play was developed in the screen scene, the General with his suite, retired"; [and] "honored the Editor of that useful journal [the *American Farmer*], (in whom he recognized the nephew and namesake of his 'intimate and dear friend, Col. John Steward of the Revolution,') with a visit of some hours, where he was greeted by the surviving relatives of that meritorious officer, and a large party of distinguished agriculturists from all parts of this state, and many from neighboring states."[18] Skinner once told his biographer, Ben Perley Poore, apropos of this gala occasion, that "he never felt more satisfaction than when filling his guest's tumbler from the premium pitcher, bearing a likeness of 'Champion'," which the Maryland Agricultural Society had given the Editor in recognition of the enterprise he had shown in importing that shorthorn bull in 1822.[19] Surely this glowing feeling was surpassed if Skinner took advantage of his reception to present to his guest his young sons, Frederick Gustavus Skinner, whose education in France George W. Lafayette

14. *AF*, 6 (November 26, 1824): 287; cf. *American*, November 26, p. 2. Text of speech, *AF*, 6 (December 10, 1824): 297–301.
15. *AF*, 6 (December 3, 1824): 289; and cf. (November 19, 1824), 277–78.
16. *AF*, 6 (November 26, 1824): 287–88; *American*, November 30, 1824, p. 2.
17. *American*, November 26, p. 2.
18. *AF*, 6 (November 26, 1824): 288; *American*, November 26, 1824, p. 2.
19. Ben Perley Poore, "Biographical Notice of John S. Skinner," *The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil*, 7 (July, 1854): 10–11.

was to oversee, and Theodorick Bland Skinner, who still later was also to enjoy the hospitality of La Grange.[20] The tireless General rounded off the evening by attending a party at the home of R. B. Magruder—but the *American Farmer* went to press a day late.[21]

The Nation's Guest, after dinner on Friday with the mayor and another evening at the Baltimore Theatre, returned to things agricultural on Saturday, when, before spending the evening at the home of James Bosley, one of the trustees, he dined with the president, Robert Smith. After attending Mr. Nevins's church on Sunday the General was the guest of William Patterson who, according to Lafayette's secretary, Auguste Levasseur, "offered him a young bull and two heifers of an elegance of form extremely rare. They are of a breed which is said to have been produced in the county of Devonshire in England." And on Monday, after breakfast, the French visitors set off for Washington.[22]

Things agricultural seem to have no place in Lafayette's third and final visit to Baltimore that year (December 26–29), and on January 19–20, and 28–29, 1825, he merely halted at the city on his way to other engagements.[23] But on February 4, on his way from York, Pennsylvania, to Washington, he was accompanied by George Howard, J. B. Morris, and Skinner on a visit which inspired one of the most munificent of the Baltimore donations. Skinner later recorded in the *American Farmer* that "on taking out the old veteran to see the Hon. R. Smith's Orange Farm, with its hundred cows, its extensive and well arranged dairy, its apparatus for preparing and steaming their food; the General inquired, 'whether it would be practicable to get a model of the steam engine.' Mr. Morris replying, 'that he had not a doubt of it;' caused a very perfect machine, upon the largest scale, to be finished in the highest style of workmanship and efficiency, and sent it out at his own expense to the General." Besides the dairy and the boiler, Lafayette saw the piggery, which had "been recently erected to accommodate more than one hundred head of swine."[24]

As spring came on and Lafayette's triumphant tour was drawing towards its conclusion, the generosity of American agriculturists was once more summoned to his aid. The May 6 issue of the *American Farmer* carried this notice:

> The Editor of the American Farmer is desirous of procuring some *wild turkies*, to be

20. For Frederick G. Skinner (1813–1894), see Harry W. Smith, *A Sporting Family of the Old South* (Albany, 1936). Theodorick, two years younger, died October 18, 1847, in Pascagoula, Mississippi.
21. *AF*, 6 (November 26, 1824): 288; *American*, November 26, p. 2.
22. *American*, November 27, quoted in Richmond *Enquirer*, November 30, 1824, p. 2; *Enquirer*, December 2, p. 2, quoting a Baltimore item of November 29; Auguste Levasseur, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825* (New York, 1829), 2: 1, quoted in Brandon, *Lafayette*, 3: 194.
23. *American*, December 28, 1824 (quoted by Brandon, 3: 194); December 29, 30, 1824; January 20, 29, 1825.
24. James Bennett Nolan, *Lafayette in America Day by Day* (Baltimore, 1934), p. 272; *AF*, 14 (January 18, 1833): 353; cf. *AF*, 8 (March 31, 1826): 15, where Skinner says the boiler "must have cost several hundred dollars." For Robert Smith's description of his steam boiler, made by Mr. William Bear of Baltimore, and his use of it, see *AF*, 4 (June 7, 1822): 81–82.

sent to France and England. The first are for the 'NATION'S GUEST' .... He has repeated to Mr. Skinner the wish to obtain two cocks and three or four hens, for his own use, at La Grange, and wishes them as black as they can be had ... any reasonable expense will be paid by Mr. S. for the fowls, and for transportation, etc., to Baltimore—and they shall be presented to him in the name of the person or persons from whom they were received. If it be not practicable to get grown turkies, it may be that eggs may be found, and placed, for being hatched, under tame turkies. Both, indeed, would be desirable, lest old ones might not so well bear transportation by sea, or might not be so far domesticated as to breed.

Any communication on the subject will be thankfully received, and transmitted to Gen. la Fayette, by

J. S. Skinner,
Post master—Baltimore.

P. S. For a distinguished cultivator of natural history in France, Mr. George Washington La Fayette requested the Editor of the American Farmer to procure, if practicable, either an impregnated female *opossum*—or if that were not practicable, a male and female opossum. They are required, to enable naturalists to settle a very curious question in the natural history and habits of that animal. . . .[25]

Editors of newspapers would confer a favour by giving the above paragraphs a single insertion.[26]

George Washington Parke Custis of Arlington, Virginia, acted promptly. He wrote the editor on May 10 that he was happy to inform him that his servant Philip Lee, whose uncle Billy had been Washington's body servant, had "procured for General La Fayette, two male and two female opossums, one of the latter with young, and that they are now on their way to Europe."[27] Charles Streater, from Hanover near Wilkes Barre, responded on May 16 with an essay on his experience in domesticating wild turkeys, and offered to supply young birds hatched from wild eggs by a domestic hen.[28] On May 27 Skinner reported that "opossums enough have been received to stock all Europe. One was left, one night, in the office of the American Farmer, very securely confined in a box, with her nine young ones, as large as middle sized rats. In the night she decamped, with all her family in her pouch, or false belly, ascended the chimney of a three story house, and

25. George W. Lafayette desired the opossums for a scientific friend of his, M. Flourens; see GWL to Francis Allyn, Milledgeville, Georgia, March 27, 1825, and same to same, New Orleans, April 15, 1825, in Edward Everett Dale, *Lafayette Letters* (Oklahoma City, 1925), pp. 15–17, 20. The question agitating French zoologists was that of the gestation of the American marsupial. Cf. Skinner's remarks in *The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil*, 1 (April, 1849): 600, on Lafayette's request for a pair, and the editor's "levying a contribution on PROFESSOR DUNGLISON . . . who . . . took the side of the old-fashioned natural process of procreation and parturition." Dunglison's contribution appeared in *The American Turf Register*, 5 (January, 1834): 243–46.

26. *AF*, 7 (May 6, 1825): 55.

27. Custis to JSS, Arlington House, May 10, 1825 (*AF*, 7 [May 27, 1825], 79).

28. C. S. to JSS, May 16, 1825 (*AF*, 7 [May 27, 1825]: 78–79). Full name is given in *AF*, 8 (January 19, 1827): 351–52.

made her escape. It had not been communicated to her that her destination was to La Grange."[29]

Lafayette last appeared in Baltimore on the weekend of July 30–August 1. On Saturday, July 30, he dined with N. G. Ridgely, and, after divine service at St. Paul's on Sunday, with William Patterson "at his country seat, [where] he was presented by Mr. Patterson with four beautiful full bred Calves of the celebrated Coke Devon breed, which the General made choice of himself out of a flock, and which he intends taking with him to *France*."[30] It would have been on Saturday, presumably, that he called to pay his respects to the editors of *Niles' Weekly Register* and the *American Farmer*, "observing on his way, that this city might boast of having given rise to both such works... which he intended to take, entire, with him to Europe."[31] This seems to have been the only occasion on which Lafayette and Skinner could have viewed together a mammoth turkey sent the "Nation's Guest" by Joseph Townsend, and doubtless the editor took advantage of this visit to show his friend his black boar and sow "Bess," which had been sent from England by a Mr. Wright whom Skinner had entertained. "Bess," "a perfect specimen of symmetry," had been exhibited at the 1824 show, and had just won the second prize for sows at the 1825 exhibition; and it was from their progeny that Skinner selected the pair that was to be his contribution to La Grange's livestock.[32]

How the Lafayettes proposed to transport their American gifts to France is made clear by various letters of 1825. George W. Lafayette wrote from Norfolk on February 25 to Captain Francis Allyn of the *Cadmus*, in which the French party had sailed to the United States, that he had two male and two female opossums in the care of Colonel Lehmanowsky in Washington. He asked Captain Allyn to tell the Colonel "how he may send these animals to you in time by a trusty master of a new yorck sloop." Allyn was "to take charge of them when you go, and to have them put on the roof of the diligence in havre for paris, when you go there. The only thing is that they must have always water, and earth in their cage." At Paris, the animals could be entrusted to Mme. de Laubespin, Lafayette's daughter, to be handed over to the zoologist M. Flourens.[33]

In Virginia, meanwhile, General John H. Cocke of Fluvanna County was keeping some wild turkeys which had been procured for the Farmer of La Grange after an appeal in the Richmond *Enquirer* at the time of Lafayette's visit to

29. *AF*, 7 (May 27, 1825): 79.
30. *American*, August 1, 1825, p. 2; August 2, p. 2.
31. *American*, August 24, p. 2. Cf. *AF*, 7 (September 23, 1825): 216, and "Visit to General Lafayette at La Grange, November 18, 1826," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 2 (1907): 310–14.
32. Wright was the brother-in-law of Charles Champion of Blyth, who bred Skinner's imported shorthorns. For Wright's gift, see *AF*, 6 (February 11, 1825): 371–72; for Skinner's, see *The Farmers' Library and Monthly Journal of Agriculture*, 2 (December, 1846): 286–87; and for the exhibitions, see *AF*, 6 (December 3, 1824): 292 and 7 (June 3, 1825): 90.
33. See letters of GWL to Allyn, note 25 above, and same to same, Norfolk, February 25, 1825 (Dale, *Lafayette Letters*, pp. 10–12).

Richmond in January.[34] Only one full grown cock, two years old and in fine health, presented by the son of Dr. and Mrs. Charles Morris of Caroline County,[35] and two more delicate young birds hatched from wild eggs, survived the summer. Lafayette, on August 21, from Monticello wrote to ask if the birds could be "sent by way of Norfolk to the care of W. Whitlock Jr. Esq. At New York they will be most carefully conveyed by the packets which sail twice a month and even three times for Havre from which they will easily reach LaGrange and be most acceptable inmates of my farm." On August 27 Cocke, preparing to ship the birds to his agent at Richmond for forwarding to France, took pains to provide these survivors with two barrels of provisions, in which he had stored a bag of pounded bricks and gravel to be fed when the stone incorporated with the earth in their coop was exhausted; and, as his personal contribution to the farm at La Grange, he tucked away in them a bag of seed of the Virginia locust tree, and a parcel of Mexican Wheat seed, "very valuable for early maturity and fair grain."[36]

The French travellers had hoped to return home on Allyn's packet boat, but Lafayette considered it discourteous to refuse President Adams's offer of transportation on the new frigate named *Brandywine* for the Revolutionary battle in which he had been wounded. It was only the party's baggage, therefore, that went by the *Cadmus*. On August 29 George Washington Lafayette wrote Allyn, then in port at New York, "I send you by Thomas Jones *twelve bundles or boxes*. . . . I hope Thomas will be able to carry you also four opossums, and two mocking birds. . . pray write to me as soon as all our bagage is arrived. . . the waggon which carries it from washington to baltimore will not be paid by Thomas, but by us here."[37]

In still another letter, written by J. S. Skinner to Lafayette on September 1, he requested the General to procure through Count Lasteyrie some lithographic stone, ink, crayons, and directions for their use. He closed with the assurance that "your Cattle, hogs, turkies, Books etc. etc. will be sent off in a Packet to Capt Allen on *Sunday morning*. You may give yourself not a thought more on that subject, I shall attend to all the details. We have it now under discussion whether we shall not *escort you in the Steam boat to the Capes of Virginia*."[38]

When, therefore, the Lafayette party, steaming down the Potomac in the

34. Richmond *Enquirer*, January 25, p. 4.

35. Cf. Charles Morris to Cocke, May 5, 1828: "My Son (a boy of 12 years old) who, thro: Dr. Taylor and yrself, presented to Genl. La Fayette a Turkey Cock of the wild breed, hearing that I was about to send to yr. House has requested me to inquire of you the fate of the Turkeys and whether or not he reached France alive" (Cocke Papers, Manuscripts Department, University of Virginia Library). I am indebted to Mr. Joseph F. Johnston for his kind permission to quote from this letter and those cited in note 36.

36. Lafayette to Cocke, August 21, 1825 (an attested copy by Nathaniel F. Cabell, May 17, 1858); draft, Cocke to Lafayette, August 27, 1825 (Manuscripts Department, University of Virginia Library; copy sent Lafayette, Lafayette Collection, Cornell University Library).

37. See letters of GWL to Allyn in notes 25 and 33 above, and same to same, Washington, August 29, 1825 (Dale, *Lafayette Letters*, p. 22).

38. JSS to Lafayette, September 1, 1825 (Lafayette Collection). See Lafayette to JSS, August 27,

Mount Vernon after the official farewells at Washington, and a boatload of Georgetown enthusiasts in the *Surprise*, hove in sight of the *Brandywine* at anchor in the Chesapeake, they found that the Baltimore admirers of the old hero had forestalled them. A committee, including J. B. Morris, the donor of the steam boiler, and the ubiquitous Skinner, had asked Commodore Morris's permission to come aboard, and sailors were busy rowing the Baltimore contingent from the steamboat *Constitution* to the warship. The *Brandywine's* yards were manned, a salute was fired, Lafayette and the secretary of the navy were hoisted aboard in a chair, and all the gentlemen were entertained by the urbane commodore at "an elegant collation." After more speeches and tearful farewells, the General, from the ship's gangway, bowed his last to his friends, and as the weather cleared and the wind set fair for France, the *Brandywine* prepared to sail under a rainbow that spanned the Potomac from shore to shore.[39]

The great extravaganza was over, but the consequences of Lafayette's ties with Baltimore began at once to make themselves felt. No sooner had he landed at Havre on October 5, but he was calling on Betsy Patterson Bonaparte to say he was delighted with her father's cows, and to invite her to see them at La Grange.[40] The *Cadmus*, which sailed from New York on September 15 and was scheduled to return from Havre on November 1, may have reached the French shore with a cargo of American livestock by October 24, when Lafayette wrote Geoffroy de St. Hilaire to consult him about clipping wild fowls' wings. "I have two hoccos from Mexico; it is easy for me to get another," he told this professor of botany at the Jardin des Plantes; "I have some wild geese from Louisiana which we captured when they were very young, on the Mississippi; I feel sure they will multiply in my farm yard."[41] Near the end of the year, as Professor Nathaniel H. Carter reported in the *New York Statesman*, he found at La Grange these Mississippi geese, Patterson's Devons, wild turkeys, a dog from Washington, and a raccoon "so tame as to play about the parlour, and climb up into the General's lap." Lafayette was "doting on the construction of a new kind of piggery, upon a plan recommended in the *American Farmer*," a new house was going up for American partridges and Mexican pheasants, to be artificially warmed by a

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1825, in Baltimore *American*, August 29, 1825, and Smith, *A Sporting Family*, p. 50; and another letter of Lafayette to a Baltimore correspondent, *American*, August 31.

39. *American*, September 8, 1825, p. 2; September 10, p. 2; September 12, p. 2. See also Skinner's description of the convivial scene on the "Mount Vernon" as she returned to Washington, in JSS to Lafayette, May 13, 1826 (Lafayette Collection).

40. Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte to William Patterson, Havre, October 6, 1825; same to same, Paris, May 21, in Eugene L. Didier, *The Life and Letters of Madame Bonaparte* (New York, 1879), pp. 167, 182.

41. Lafayette to Geoffroy de St. Hilaire, October 24, 1825, in *Letters of the Marquis de Lafayette in the Collection of Stuart Wells Jackson* (Easton, Pennsylvania, 1954), p. 30. The hocco is a member of the Curassow family, with black plumage and tufted head, resembling a turkey (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v. "Hocco"). The Hampshire *Telegraph* credited Lafayette with introducing the hocco into France (London *Times*, October 5, 1829).

stove, and G. W. Lafayette was "much engaged in constructing an ice-house, upon the plan of those he saw in our country."[42]

Throughout the years after these preliminary reports, Lafayette's American benefactors were kept abreast through the pages of the *American Farmer* of what happened to the livestock and machinery that reached La Grange. This was not only because Lafayette, full of affection for his Baltimore friends and genuinely grateful for their bounty, frequently mentioned their gifts in his letters to the editor; but also because John S. Skinner was nothing loath to share these letters with subscribers as long as he owned the *Farmer* and enjoyed the friendship of his successor.

Skinner's journal carried in the issue of January 20, 1826, the first report received from Lafayette. "One of Mr. Patterson's Coke Devons, the elder bull, died on the passage," the Farmer of La Grange wrote;

> the three others have recovered from the fatigue and are now in fine order. The giant wild turkey we have admired together, died also at sea; his brother, and another from General Cocke of Virginia, arrived safe; two small Virginia hens never could retrieve the injuries of the sea, but the males are very hearty. Your two hogs have well supported the voyage, and are better shaped than any I have seen, although I have chanced to obtain the best of an importation from England. The Virginia plough[43] [of Mr. McCormick's] you have been pleased to forward, has been presented for examination to the Central Society at Paris. . . . Permit me to entreat your kindness for two other articles I much wish to introduce at La Grange, the pretty American partridge, so called in the south, and quail in the north, and the terrapin, about whose management I would need an instruction.—Capt. Macey would take care of them, and if the kind friend, Joseph Townsend, who had found the mammoth Turkey, persist in his good intention to send some more, or you could get some of the tame breed, second or third generation, at the good Postmasters at York, Pa. capt. Macey might be entrusted with them.
>
> I have on my farm a fine shepherd's dog, and can find a proper slut for him; but the more I inquire and see about those dogs, so very sagacious and useful here, the more I find that their principal merit is lost when they have not to execute the orders of a shepherd in the marshalling of a flock.[44]

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42. *American*, August 8, 1826, p. 2, from the *New York Statesman*. In the second edition of his *Letters from Europe*, 2 vols. (New York, 1829), 1: 438, Nathaniel Carter deleted the phrase about the piggery, and substituted "and to witness the hero himself engaged in the construction of stalls and folds on a new plan recommended in some of the agricultural journals of the United States."

43. Lafayette wrote McCormick May 28, 1826, via Skinner, enclosing the report of M. Hugord of the Royal Central Agricultural Society (*AF*, 8 [July 28, 1826]: 145). McCormick, who had promised Lafayette when he visited Warrenton, Virginia, on August 23–24, 1825, to send him another plow, replied on September 8, 1826 from "Auburn," Fauquier County. "At this time I am preparing a self sharpening plough for you and another for the Central Agricultural Society of Paris which will be sent to the care of a friend John S. Skinner of Baltimore who has promised to give them a speedy conveyance to France." He enclosed copies of his patent, and requested Lafayette to send one copy and an accompanying letter to the Society (Stephen McCormick to Lafayette, September 8, 1826, Lafayette Collection).

44. Lafayette to JSS, January 20, 1826, in *AF*, 8 (March 31, 1826): 15.

John S. Skinner answered this letter on May 13, 1826. "I have sent from the Postmaster at York," he wrote,

> the largest Turkey in that County—The very copy of the one which was lost on the passage. When Capt Allen sails in September you shall assuredly have rabbits and Terrapins and some Turkey hens. . . . Capt Allen will take you the last volume of the American Farmer, and I send you the numbers which have been printed since the close of that volume. . . . As to the Shepherds dog, they are wanted for friends in the western States, where they are getting flocks of several thousand in a single farm, and tending them as in Europe. If Capt Allen should bring me a pair, I shall send a pair of the first litter to Mr Dickinson at Steubenville, a most respectable enterprising and extensive *Grazier* and *Manufacturer*—whose letter you will see in no. 9 of the Farmer herewith sent. For the kind of dog see Memoirs Pennsylvania Ag Soc—page 159–160. Your partridges, rely on it, shall not be forgotten.
>
> I took yesterday a ride with our friend Morris to see his Devons. The richness of their milk and the superior flavour and quality of their butter is most remarkable. We are preparing for another Cattle Show in June, but alas we shall never distribute any more '*Lafayette premiums*'. You cannot imagine how much, more and more, the smallest one of *these* premiums is valued.[45]

Very few recipients of the "Lafeyette premiums," however, to judge by the few extant pieces, valued them enough to have inscriptions added. Skinner himself furnished an example by having his own volunteer premium, a pair of "elegant scissors with silver hook and chain" (won, as it turned out, by Mrs. Sarah H. Hammond), engraved with the legend "1824, for best soap—from the Editor of the American Farmer, by the hands of Lafayette."[46]

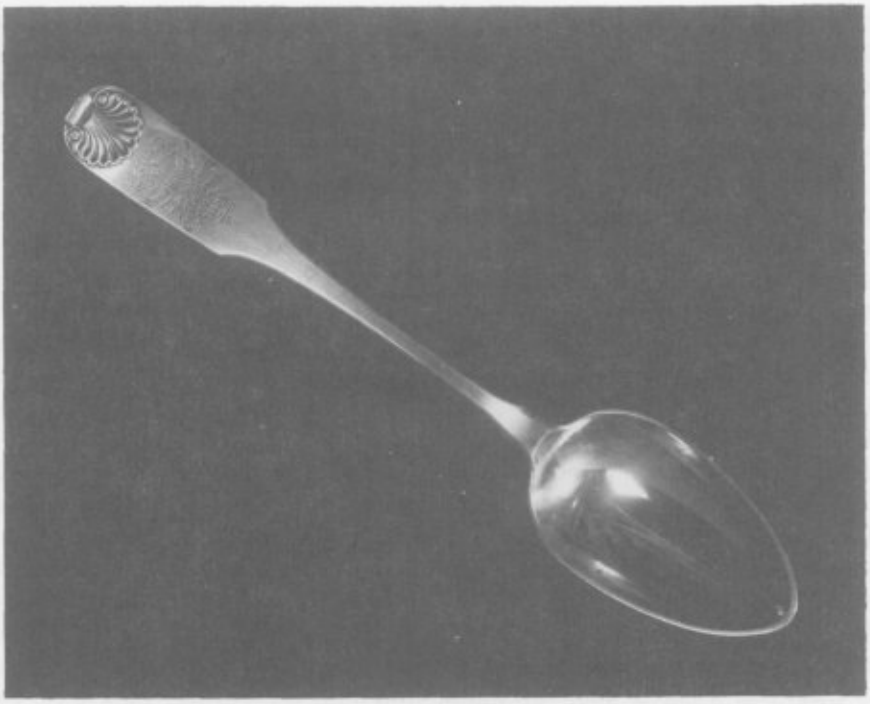
These scissors have disappeared in the mists of time, but the most valuable prize, for the best cultivated farm, still survives and is cherished as highly as in 1833, when Skinner wrote, "those who won what is denominated, *par excellence*, the 'Lafayette premium' gave it suitable inscription, and still show it as the proudest trophy of their agricultural career. What would tempt the owner of Hayfields, for instance," he went on, "to part with his noble tankard?"[47] For this piece of old English silver, worth $50 in 1824, which some anonymous gentleman had donated as a volunteer premium, had indeed been won by Colonel Nicholas Merryman Bosley,[48] and has become, as the Editor foretold, a treasured heirloom. For years Skinner remembered a joyous party at "Hayfields," at which the Society's treasurer "rose and let out kink after kink, until presently he stood up in all his height and animation, in fervid reply to Governor Barbour's speech

45. JSS to Lafayette, May 13, 1826 (Lafayette Collection). To write that Captain Allyn would take the *Farmer* seems a *lapsus calami* for Captain Macy, who cleared New York on April 4 and sailed from Havre May 26 (*New York Mercantile Advertiser*, April 5 and June 27).
46. *AF*, 6 (December 3, 1824): 293–95.
47. *AF*, 14 (January 18, 1833): 353.
48. Volunteer premium, *AF*, 5 (January 16, 1824): 344; award, *AF*, 6 (December 3, 1824): 289–90 and (December 24, 1824): 313.

at the christening of the LA FAYETTE TANKARD, filled for the occasion with mint julep of John Merryman's inimitable compounding."[49] If this occasion was the dinner of the Board of Trustees at the Bosley estate on June 7, 1827, at which the Virginia executive offered the toast "Hayfields and its proprietors—the good management of the one, and the hospitality of the other, deserve all commendation,"[50] there would have been ample time for silversmiths to execute the elaborate engraving the tankard bears. The wording of the legend is in close accord with Skinner's suggestion: "By the hand of Lafayette from the Md. Agr. Soc. Best cultivated farm to Col. N. M. Bosley November 1824." For good measure, there is an etching showing two men making loose hay by hand, using pitchforks. One man, wearing a tall hat, is loading the hay on the wagon pulled by two horses. Immediately above this etching of the haymaking is the motto "Sic rura florebunt"—a device particularly appropriate in view of Colonel Bosley's conservation techniques.[51]

Four other Baltimore pieces of silver bear identical inscriptions that follow neither of the foregoing examples, reading as they do "Presented to David Williamson by Gen'l La Fayette 1824." Two are large spoons, now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, differing in size and design, made by A. E. Warner;[52] the other two items are the much publicized "Lafayette goblets," made by Kirk, which were stolen in the great silver robbery in Miami in 1971, and fortunately recovered from the thieves. An attempt to identify one of these pieces as a cattle show premium runs into difficulties. Lafayette, as we know from committee reports, handed over to David Williamson, Jr., a $15 "*silver Butter Boat, for the best 5 acres of corn and potatoes*"; a "Silver Cup valued at $20" for "a description of the most economical method of rearing calves by hand"; and, for the second best bull of any race between one and two years old, an unspecified item valued at $8.[53] If we equate one of the extant spoons with this unidentified prize,[54] what are we to make of the other spoon and the so-called "Lafayette goblets"? The contention in the newspaper accounts of the robbery—that the goblets were made by Kirk at the General's order, and given, not presented, by him to Williamson either as an expression of friendship, or in

49. *The Farmers' Library*, 2 (December, 1846): 247.
50. *AF*, 9 (June 15, 1827): 104.
51. I owe this description to the present owner of the tankard, who prefers to remain anonymous.
52. One (no. 53. 116.3), the gift of Mrs. Henry H. Flather, is 11 inches long, and bears a conventional shell design on the handle. The second (no. 59. 112.6), the gift of Florence Williamson Clarke, is plain and 10½ inches long. I am indebted to Mr. Wilbur H. Hunter of the Peale Museum for information about the existence of one of these spoons, and to the Maryland Historical Society for allowing me to examine them.
53. Butter boat, *AF*, 6 (April 2, 1824): 10, and (December 3, 1824), 290. Cup, *AF*, 6 (December 3, 1824): 295, and (December 24, 1824): 318; *American*, November 17, 1824, p. 2. Prize for bull, *AF*, 6 (April 2, 1824): 10, and (December 3, 1824): 291.
54. A value of $8 was placed on the only other spoon awarded in 1824, for table damask (*AF*, 6 [December 3, 1824]: 293).



Silver Serving Spoon, Inscribed "Presented to David Williamson by General LaFayette, 1824". "A. E. Warner, 1824"—silversmith. *Maryland Historical Society*.

recognition of having been entertained at "Lexington"[55]—is equally unverifiable. There is no contemporary mention of entertainment at the Williamson estate, and the only presents that Lafayette made, to my knowledge, in return for a favor, were to Captain Allyn of the *Cadmus* and his officers.[56] The fact that the inscription on spoons and goblets gives for donor and recipient forms of name that neither David Williamson, Jr. nor Lafayette used, suggests that the pieces were engraved long after family memory of the circumstances of their acquisition had become dim.

As the spring of 1826 wore on, packet ship captains were busy carrying presents back and forth across the Atlantic. On May 28 Lafayette acknowledged the receipt of the seventh volume of the *American Farmer*, and went on to say:

Captain Macy has been pleased to take on board, a couple of shepherds' dogs for you:

55. Baltimore *Sun*, March 23, 24, 1971, for the theft in Miami on March 22; April 4, page 12, and April 6, page B1, for the recovery; manufacture by Kirk for Lafayette, March 5 and March 23; entertainment, April 6, and cf. Smith, *A Sporting Family*, p. 47.

56. The Corporation of Baltimore reserved accommodations for Lafayette at the Fountain Inn for all his visits (*American*, November 25, 1824). The writing desk given Captain Allyn was inscribed "Gen. Lafayette to his excellent friend Capt. Allyn, August 15th, 1824."

Mr. Worthington, son to the former governor of Ohio, took charge of them in Paris—they are of the best breed and well trained. But I fear the American method of keeping a flock will not give so much scope and usefulness to their instinct as when they are under perpetual admonition from their master. And since I have entered upon farming topics, I must tell you, my dear sir, that I am making great improvements founded on American importations. Your hogs are beautiful, and while I keep sóme individuals of pure breed I generally cross it with Anglo-Chinese animals of the best kind. But yours are better shaped, and I have arranged a piggery after your principles.[57] Of the handsome Holkham cows, given me by Mr. Patterson, three are alive and thriving, the younger bull, and two females. . . . The splendid boiling steam machine given to me by Mr. [Morris] has been much admired; drafts have been taken, and it shall be in a few days placed in a building I have made on purpose to receive it. You see that my Baltimorean farming obligations have not been lost on me. . . .

Of the wild turkeys, only one has been preserved; I particularly regret the giant turkey which my friend had so kindly provided for me, and if such a one could be obtained, it would be a new conferred obligation. The surviving one has mixed with the hens of the country, and I have got a number of crossed eggs—but a few wild ones of both sexes would be very welcome. So would be my good friend, some American partridges, a variety unknown in Europe; and of terrapins, two sorts of novelty which I would like first to nurse at the farm, then to naturalize on my grounds. . . . And since you allow me to utter all my wishes, I will add that one or two couple of American rabbits would be also a new introduction on this side of the Atlantic.—As for the justly celebrated canvass backs, they can only be enjoyed in the vicinity of the Susquehanna and the Potomac . . . .[58]

Consigning his son to Lafayette's care on August 4, 1826, Skinner wrote in reply: "you may feel assured that Capt Allyn will take you the American rabbits partridges and turkies. I have taken such measures that I shall be certain to procure them." Something seems to have gone wrong with this plan, for the collecting of birds and rabbits went on during November, as family letters show. "Your father is trying to make a collection of Rabbits Corn Patridges etc for the General," Elizabeth Skinner wrote Frederick; "he has a pair of beautiful Mexican Pheasants called the Poweyees which he means to send." "We had 7 rabbits for [the General] but all got a way but 1 witch is alive now," Theodorick told his brother.[59] At last Skinner felt able to announce that "by Captain Macy, a personal acquaintance and friend of General LAFAYETTE, who will sail for France on the 5th of December, the Editor of the American Farmer intends sending wild turkies, American rabbits and partridges, South American Powees

57. For the principles and plan of "Mr. Ingersoll's Piggery" which Skinner in 1821 wished to follow in building his own "in a long narrow shed, on one side of my barn yard," see *AF*, 5 (January 2, 1824), 321–24—one of the volumes Lafayette took with him to France.

58. Lafayette to JSS, La Grange, May 28, 1826, in Baltimore *American*, August 7, 1826, p. 2. Skinner refers to this letter's requests in *AF*, 9 (November 9, 1827): 271.

59. JSS to Lafayette, n. p. n. d., but written at New York the day before Frederick sailed for France on the "Lewis" (*American*, August 10, 1826). This letter, as well as Elizabeth Skinner to FGS, and Theodorick Skinner to FGS, November 26, 1826, is in the Lafayette Collection.

(brought and presented by Mr. Keener, of Baltimore,)[60] and other articles indigenous to our country."[61]

Corn, as can be seen from Elizabeth Skinner's letter, was one of these indigenous products. Back in October 1825 Skinner had asked legislators to bring to Washington and Annapolis ears of corn for a collection of all American varieties, noted "in the memoranda of requests with which the editor of the American Farmer was honored" by Lafayette; but the ears received that season had been too few to send to France. Now, a year later, on November 3, he repeated his plea for remarkable ears of a large number of varieties. On November 10 he reported that "We have already received several ears of corn, and hope yet to get as many more as will give greater variety to the collection for the *American Museum* at La Grange."[62] One Marylander, John Mercer of "Cedar Park," sent in late December a little contribution of corn, which "if it should be esteemed worthy of being included in the parcel intended for our dear General, will not reach you in time.... if the object should be to furnish a desirable sort for cultivation, I can safely recommend it as the best I have ever seen." This was genuine Tuscarora, improved by judicious selection of seed corn over several years of experimentation.[63]

It may be that something postponed this shipment proposed for December 5, for on May 16, 1827, Lafayette was writing Captain Allyn, in port at Havre, that "the letters, papers, books, Corn and patterns by the stage Have not Yet reached la Grange.... the only packages as yet received by the Cadmus Consist of a few letters, some publications on boring for water, very interesting, and a most Neat model of a Bee Hive which Mrs Griffith[64] has Had the kindness to send to me.... I see by a letter of Mr Skinner to his Son that he Had some objects to send to me, birds, rabbits, etc. did you Hear of them?"[65]

Among these expected birds may have been included an exotic American importation, usually unsuccessful. Frederick Skinner had written his mother that "nothing could be more curious, nor more acceptable to the ladies at La Grange, than an American mocking bird—the nonpareil of feathered songsters."[66] On September 12, 1827, Lafayette informed Frederick's father that "One of the partridges, the male, is arrived safe; the associates you will please to give Him

60. The Powee is the Helmeted Curassow (Pauxi pauxi), a yard-tall greenish black bird with a large bony casque springing from the forehead; see R. Mayer de Schauensee, *The Birds of Colombia* (Narberth, Pennsylvania, 1964), p. 61.
61. *AF*, 8 (November 3, 1826): 264.
62. *Ibid.*, 7 (October 21, 1825): 248; 8 (November 10, 1826): 272. The "American Museum" was merely a room in the chateau.
63. John Mercer to JSS, December 20, 1826 (*AF*, 8 [December 29, 1826]: 328).
64. See Mary Griffith to Lafayette, Charlieshope, New Brunswick, New Jersey, March 14, 1827 (Lafayette Collection), and her articles on her beehive and on boring for water, in *AF*, 6 (July 2, 1824): 114–15; (September 24, 1824): 215; (December 17, 1824): 309–10.
65. Lafayette to Allyn, May 16, 1827 (Dale, *Lafayette Letters*, pp. 36–8).
66. *AF*, 9 (November 9, 1827): 271. Skinner adds: "Mr. Jefferson stated that nothing had been found more difficult than to transport in safety the mocking bird across the Atlantic."

will be very welcome, and so will the wild turkeys. I have not received the curious foreign birds, Between the goose and the swan, that have Been so very kindly intended for me, and so very gratefully accepted. But the mocking Bird, so rarely brought over, is with us, Having been presented By Frederic to our family collection of Grand daughters."[67] Announcing the arrival of this letter in the *Farmer* of November 9, Skinner records that he has sent "under the care of a mutual friend to the patriarch of La Grange," a land tortoise from Pensacola, Florida, as a substitute for terrapins.[68]

The long desired turkeys were not obtained for Lafayette until the spring of 1828. "On the 24th. of April last," Joseph Townsend wrote him on May 24 from Baltimore, "I shipped to New York to the care of our friends Crasson and Boyd, three wild Turkies for thee, one male and two females, to be forwarded by them by an early conveyance, they having offered their service for that purpose."[69]

Lafayette's acknowledgment of all these presents was written on July 13, 1828. "Our friend Mr. Townsend," he told Skinner,

> has sent three turkies, who have arrived in good health, one male and two females; two males, one from Gen. Cocke, the other from York, Pennsylvania, whom you know have been preserved; so that I have now on my farm none but wild males, and two females, that may keep the pure breed.
>
> You know the fine mocking-bird, given by your son Frederick to his young friends at La Grange, is dead. Every tender care has been taken of him; there must be something in the change of climate obnoxious to this matchless bird. The loss has been much lamented.
>
> I have also lost the terrapins. My only way to preserve and multiply them, is to receive a number of those who live in fresh water and on land; to let them loose in a pond intersected by small islands, and let them take care of themselves. The tortoises have not lived; yet they had a better chance. The partridges could not bear confinement; I have let them loose, and think they will multiply. The swan-geese are in perfect health, male and female, but hitherto have given no progeny.[70] They are fine birds and a great curiosity.

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67. Lafayette to JSS, ALS, La Grange, September 12, 1827, in the possession of his great grandson, Francis Thornton Greene, Warrenton, Virginia. My grateful thanks are due to Mr. Greene, who with true Skinner hospitality has allowed me to inspect, and quote from, his family papers.

68. The land tortoise was a gift from Purser John H. Hambleton; see his letter to JSS, U. S. Ship "John Adams," Norfolk, October 17, 1827 (*AF*, 9 [November 9, 1827]: 272).

69. Joseph Townsend to Lafayette, May 24, 1828 (Lafayette Collection). Cf. Lafayette to Townsend, June 23, 1827, in "Two Letters of Lafayette," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1 (1906): 273, where date is wrongly transcribed as 1824.

70. See Samuel Wyllys Pomeroy to Lafayette, Brighton, Massachusetts, November 15, 1827 (Lafayette Collection). Pomeroy says he has received through Skinner a letter from Lafayette dated May 29. "I have now shipped on board Brig Rhine Capt. Robbins, bound for Havre a pair of *Java Swans* or *Swan Geese*, which will be delivered to Mr. Beasly U. S. consul at Havre, for your acceptance . . . as they are accommodated with a comfortable house and provided with ample stores for the passage, I am encouraged to anticipate their safe arrival at La Grange. . . . These Birds appear to be a distinct species from the common goose . . . they may be a connecting link between the Swan and the domestic goose." If they were a hybrid, they would prove sterile. Pomeroy calls Lafayette's

> I have much admired the fine samples of wool sent by Mr. Dickinson, (of Ohio), to whom I beg you to offer my best thanks, as well as to the gentlemen who have collected the curious diversity of Indian corn. . . . I. . . beg my affectionate acknowledgments and compliments to Mr. Niles for the precious continuation of his Register. The steam boiler, presented by Mr. J. B. Morris, works admirably well on my farm,[71] and enables me to feed by cattle, my ewes in the suckling time, the fattening animals, and a stock of hogs, either full blooded from your fine pigs, or crossed with the English, and Anglo-Chinese breed.[72]

This experiment in porcine hybridization was also recorded in a little book that Lafayette compiled about this time, entitled *Livre de compte sommaire de mon exploitation de la grange pour l'année 1828*. In it he described his Maryland acquisitions as follows:

> J'ai porté de Baltimore un verrat et une truie de la première beauté;* (*Données par Mr. Skinner) j'ai croisé le premier avec la race Anglo-Chinoise. . . .
>
> Ma race de dindes a recu le croisement de deux dindons sauvages des Etats-Unis* (*Données par le Gal. Cocke et Mr. Townsend). . . .
>
> Ma vacherie s'est formée de bêtes nées chez moi, de huit vaches et un taureau suisse. . .de deux vaches normandes. . . de deux petites Vaches et un taureau de la race d'holkam donnés à Baltimore par Mr. Patterson, et comme il paraît que le mâle donne les formes et qualités plutôt que la taille, j'attends beaucoup du croisement de ce taureau avec les plus grandes vaches.[73]

Such generous impulses as inspired the gifts of Agricultural Society members did not always flow across the Atlantic from West to East—sometimes the current was reversed. With the letter of July 13, 1828, quoted above, Lafayette enclosed some samples of merino wool, and a communication from Judge Girod de l'Ain, a member of the Association de Naz, who thought that this organization, which possessed a fine merino flock, might wish to "open with the Americans a communication beneficial to both." Skinner exhibited the samples at the *Farmer* office, and asked for samples of wool of extraordinary fineness from stock which had been acclimatized for a long time in America, to "serve to exhibit the influence of our climate and the success of our management" when sent to M. Girod de l'Ain.[74]

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attention to his article "Mongrel Geese" (a cross between the domestic and the Canada goose) published in *AF*, 8 (May 12, 1826): 60–61.

71. John B. Morris wrote Lafayette on October 21, 1828: "I have had the double gratification of receiving a letter from you and also the assurance that you were pleased to value the steam apparatus" (Lafayette Collection).

72. *AF*, 10 (September 19, 1829): 215.

73. The quotation is from p. xviv of the *Livre de compte sommaire* (Lafayette Collection). See also fols. 7 and 9.

74. *AF*, 10 (September 19, 1829): 215. Cf. *AF*, 11 (April 3, 1829): 23, and JSS to G. W. Lafayette, May 30, 1829 (Lafayette Collection). Further Skinner gifts to the Lafayettes, JSS to GWL, April 8, 1829; October 30, 1830; February 6, 1846 (Lafayette Collection).

Lafayette's willingness to provide a pair of shepherd dogs in 1826 has already been noticed. In this July 13, 1828, letter he showed his readiness to be of service to his American friends once more. "I have received a young dog from the Pyrennean mountains," he wrote to Skinner, "and if I preserve it in growing health, shall send it to you. . . ." By August 9 Lafayette had procured another puppy. "One of them," he promised, "as both are males, I shall send when more fit to bear the voyage." Frederick, in October, asked his mother to tell Skinner that "his Spanish dogs are at paris on their way to Havre. they are yet but pupies while at La grange I saw one of them bite a poor [man] on the derriere end and nearly frighten him out of his witts."[75] By the end of the year these ferocious beasts had arrived in Baltimore. One of them remained in Maryland, the other was sent to W. R. Dickinson in Steubenville, Ohio, whose first imported pair had "proved deserters."[76]

In two other fields Lafayette exerted himself on behalf of Baltimore interests. In his letter of August 9, 1828, he enclosed a treatise on raising silkworms and cultivating the mulberry tree. Early in 1829 Captain Macy brought another book, *On the Rearing of Silk Worms*, and a quantity of "worm-seed," Lafayette's word for silkworm eggs.[77] These gifts may have been made in response to a request of Joseph Y. Tomkins of Baltimore, who wrote Lafayette on July 2, 1828, asking for "three or four hundred eggs of the largest size silk worm, which forms the white cocoon," and for a description of a gadget called the "carrelet" used in "spinning the coarser qualities of silk" in France.[78] Turning to another branch of science, Lafayette sent Skinner a letter of recommendation for M. de la Cretar, "a complete master of the science of practical chemistry"; and the editor reported that de la Cretar became employed by the Maryland Chemical works, of the Messrs. McKim.[79]

John S. Skinner himself "never saw fair Carcassonne," but in 1830 it was Theodorick Skinner's turn to go to Europe and with his mother to enjoy the hospitality of the old patriarch of La Grange. Mother and son would have reached Havre in time for them to have a joyous reunion with Frederick, who sailed home in the *Erie* on June 20.[80] Theodorick proved himself a chip off the old block when he told French farmers that the American method of removing hog bristles by

75. Lafayette to JSS, La Grange, August 9, 1828, in *AF*, 10 (January 2, 1829): 336; Frederick Skinner to Elizabeth Skinner, October 12, 1828 (Greene Collection).
76. William R. Dickinson to JSS, Steubenville, November 2, 1827 in *AF*, 9 (November 23, 1827): 284; *AF*, 10 (January 2, 1829): 336; *The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil*, 1 (July, 1848): 52, and (May, 1849): 682.
77. *AF*, 11 (April 3, 1829): 23. Captain Macy in the "Sully" arrived New York March 11, 1829 (*American*, March 14, 1829, p. 3).
78. Joseph Y. Tomkins to Lafayette, Baltimore, July 2, 1828 (Lafayette Collection). Tomkins understood that Skinner was making up a package to go early in July.
79. Skinner refers to this letter of introduction in *AF*, 11 (June 19, 1829): 111.
80. Mrs. Skinner and Theodorick sailed on the *Erie* April 20 (*American*, April 24, 1830, p. 2); Frederick Skinner to Elizabeth Skinner, June 20, 1830 (Greene Collection).

scalding after slaughter was superior to their own,[81] and Elizabeth Davies Skinner wrote her husband a long description of La Grange, its family, and livestock. On the first of June, her host took her "to show me his ice-house, which is made after the cheap and plain American plan—he says that in this country they make their ice-houses very expensively, and that they do not keep the ice nearly so well as ours."[82] In one of the cattle barns were "thirteen cows," she said, "amongst which are those of the Devon breed, given him by Mr. Patterson of Baltimore, also nine half grown calves, all as he told me were of the same stock. . . . The piggery is the most complete you can imagine, containing a great number of hogs of all sizes, ages and breeds, but the one you gave the general is the largest ever seen, and is much more esteemed than any of the others. The general relates with much apparent pleasure, that an English farmer of great wealth and knowledge, on seeing the hog, said, well sir, you may boast of having the finest boar that was ever sent from England, and would scarcely believe him, when with pride he told him, it came from the United States, and not from England."[83] Doubtless it was from his wife or one of his sons that Skinner learned how it was one of the old General's "*habits* to go, the first thing every morning, to the barn-yard, carrying in his pocket a *hard-boiled egg*, and the first animal attended to was a *one-eyed American Raccoon*; to whom, with his own hand, he gave the egg for his breakfast."[84]

In 1832 the stock of some of the American importations was dwindling, and Lafayette once more displayed "his American partialities" in letters written to Skinner in October. "Would it," he said in one, "my dear friend, be possible, without giving too much trouble, to procure for me some more wild turkeys, some partridges, some deers and some terrapins; this is a great deal indeed. But I have but one American deer—*Americanus cervus*, and am afraid to lose him. My full blooded turkey wild cocks are living, but some of their kind, male and female, would do. Your hogs are flourishing, and Mr. Patterson's bull, (Devon), that he gave me, produces larger than he was. Mr. Morris' steam machine works admirably."[85]

"We had lately a departmental *cattle show*," wrote the Farmer of La Grange in the other letter, "in presence of the Prefect, and a deputation from the Paris

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81. Extract from T. B. Skinner to JSS, Paris, December, 1830, in *AF*, 13 (April 15, 1831): 37: "It is not so cleanly, nor so quickly performed as our method of scalding, nor is the effluvia very agreeable. When I described to them our method of scalding, they liked it much better."

82. In Volume 5 of the *Farmer* (1823–1824) Lafayette would have found several articles on ice houses (pp. 184, 189–90, 242, 252, 332).

83. Elizabeth Skinner to JSS, May 29, 1830, in *AF*, 12 (August 13, 1830): 174–75; *American*, August 31, 1830, p. 3.

84. *The Farmers' Library*, 2 (December, 1846): 287.

85. Lafayette to JSS, October 18, 1832, in *AF*, 14 (January 18, 1833): 353. Skinner answered that a wild turkey and two turkey hens had been sent to New York for trans-shipment (JSS to Lafayette, n. d., but written in reply to Lafayette's of February 28, in the year Mr. and Mrs. Ridgely sailed for Europe, i. e., 1833; Lafayette Collection).

Agricultural Society, to the Society we have formed at Rosay. A jury of twenty members had been selected from the several parts of the department of Seine au Marne. Of the four prizes awarded to me, there was a first one for a boar, coming from your present of a fine breed of hogs; and another first prize for my merino female, two others for a cow, issued from Mr. Patterson's Holkham breed, (Devons,) which has increased in size on my farm, and to a ram, rather a small one, of excellent wool. You see that America had a distinguished part in the show."[86]

Down through the years, those visitors admitted to the cordial hospitality of the General and his family at La Grange had the opportunity to mull over the Indian artifacts in the "American Museum," gaze on the *Brandywine's* ensign and the portraits of American presidents, or read the *American Farmer* in the Library. Strolling on the grounds, the agriculturally minded would discover many reminders of the gifts inspired by Lafayette's honorary membership in the Maryland Agricultural Society and his visits to Baltimore. They could admire the exotic importations in the aviary, the cherry-red Devons, the huge inmates of the inodorous piggery, and the ingenuity of Mr. Morris's steam boiler; or, if they penetrated to the water supply, the cheap and efficient ice-house. But at this public exhibition at Rosay, the agriculturists of the whole region could scrutinize the living proof of American stockbreeding, and some of the reflected glory of that November day in Baltimore seems to rest upon the trophies Lafayette won there. The wheel had come full circle: once he was the distributor of prizes, now the recipient among his peers. Americans had been generous; the French jury was just.

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86. Lafayette to JSS, La Grange, October 8, 1832 (*AF*, 14 [January 18, 1833]: 353).

To Fairfield with Love: A Rural Maryland House and Household

MARTHA C. NESBITT

IN THE ONCE-EXTENSIVE COUNTRY NEIGHBORHOOD OF SANDY SPRING, MONTGOMERY County, Maryland, founded by Quakers during the time of the Province, there are a number of houses that have been home to several generations of the same family. Originally farm dwellings, most of them, and of a style reflecting the simple dignity of their builders, each has been known continuously by a name which has served to identify the place, and more often than not, its people.

One glimpses these homes, of brick or frame or stone, each with a barn or two left standing and perhaps a springhouse in the hollow, set far back from the road beneath towering trees of great age. Each, in its surroundings and in the life of its people, is representative of the general characteristics of the old neighborhood; yet each has its own distinctive, almost human attributes of character and personality bred in the long-sustained association of house and household.

The use of the place name has further personified each home. A member of the family, or a visitor, upon entering, feels the embrace of its vibrant spirit: an essence distilled, in part at least, from mood of setting and strength of structure, and from the nature of the past and present occupants as revealed in their accumulated possessions and the well-worn imprint of their ways. When apart from the old house, it answers to the calling of its name with its presence, full-blown upon the inner eye. To those to whom the name means home, it is the face of joy, the voice of counsel, the arms that comfort, and the symbol of the family's pride. To others who may know it well, it is a venerable friend.

Although many of the old homes have long since passed into new hands, and month by month the others go (for time, and the expansion of the cities of Baltimore and Washington have wrought inevitable change in the rural community), the neighborhod still holds them in the light of friends. Such a friend in Fairfield, the home of the Pierce-Iddings-Willson family for one hundred and fifteen years. In recalling its distinctive qualities—not in mournful retrospect, but with pride in the place and the people—we pay tribute to all those neighborhood homes we have known and loved.

The rugged stone and clapboard house, Fairfield, stands some distance to the

Mrs. Martha C. Nesbitt lives in Sandy Spring, Maryland.

left of a narrow, winding road recently made an extension of Washington's New Hampshire Avenue, eighteen miles north of the capitol city, beyond Ashton and Brinklow and perhaps a mile beyond the Hawlings River, in the small community of Brighton. Fairfield was built in 1856 by Edward Peirce, a birthright Quaker, for his sister Ann and their aging father, Joshua Peirce. More recently—until the autumn of 1968—it has been the home, with her husband, J. Albert Willson, of Edward Peirce's granddaughter, Deborah Iddings Willson, the last in line of a long-lived family.[1]

Today the house is lost to the sight of passers-by because of several newly-erected dwellings that occupy the front portion of the former twenty-eight acre homestead. But even in our time of knowing it, one played a game of "Now you see it, now you don't," when approaching, for it was but briefly glimpsed across a "fair field," then concealed behind dense woodland; and as one turned from the road into the long lane skirting the woods, the old stone house was further hidden from view—with the exception of the wide and welcoming doorway—by two gigantic box bushes on either side of the portico, planted there as tiny shrubs during Ann Peirce's tenure of the place.

Situated as it is in the Brighton community (and with Brinklow the post office address), Fairfield's position in the Sandy Spring neighborhood may seem as obscure today as is the view of the house. But Brighton and Brinklow lie well within the bounds of the former Quaker stronghold which had at its heart the Sandy Spring Meeting House, and, in circumscribing the plantations of the members of the Meeting, had extended north to Brookeville, south to present-day Colesville, east to the Patuxent River, and west to Rock Creek. With the breaking up of the plantations into farms in the nineteenth century and with the advent of other religious groups, several small communities, centering on a store, a post office, a church, or perhaps all three, arose within the borders of the older neighborhood. Brighton is an Episcopal pocket set in the Quaker cloth, its name and origin as a community due to Edward Peirce and his family.

Although Fairfield is by no means the oldest house, nor the one in which the greatest number of generations of the same family have lived, it encompasses, in one way or another, almost the whole history of Sandy Spring: in the legacy of land on which the house was built, in the lives of the family and their forebears, and in the wealth of their memorabilia. Thus the story of Fairfield begins, not with the first stone quarried in 1856, but many years and several generations earlier.

Deborah Iddings Willson is of the seventh generation in Sandy Spring, a descendant of the first permanent settlers, James and Deborah Snowden Brooke, through their eldest son, James Brooke, Jr. The senior James, who became a Quaker at the time of his marriage, and his wife Deborah, herself descended from

1. The present owners of Fairfield are Mrs. Mary G. Sincell and her son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Orris Minor.

some of the earliest "convinced" Quakers in Maryland, had come into the wilderness of the "back country" in 1728 to make their home on the 889 acres of land James had purchased that same year, out of a "Tract of Land called Charley Forrest situated lying & being in Prince George County in the woods near a branch of Patuxent River commonly known by the name of Snowden's River."[2] The framed log house James had ready for Deborah, which they called "Charley Forrest," after the land grant, stood—until it was razed in 1913—to the right of Brooke Road, a quarter mile north of the present Sandy Spring post office.

Fairfield's twenty-eight acres, which stem directly from James Brooke, the Elder, are a miniscule portion of some 20,000 acres he owned at the time of his death in 1784, an estate that was divided and redivided among the heirs of his six children down through the years.

The heritage of Quakerism was similarly passed down. Among the interesting and valuable documents treasured by the Fairfield family are three certificates of marriage, each bearing witness that the participants were wed in ceremonies performed in accordance with the practice of Friends or "People called Quakers." The first reveals that in 1759 James Brooke, Jr., of Frederick County, Maryland, married Hannah Janney of Loudoun County in the colony of Virginia, in the Fairfax Friends Meeting House; the second, that their daughter Deborah was wed in the same meeting house in 1783 to George Chandlee of Frederick County, Maryland (he was of a family of clock-makers, near Nottingham); and the third, that Hannah, daughter of Deborah and George Chandlee, married Joshua Peirce of Philadelphia, in Chester, Pennsylvania, on October 2, 1811.

After their marriage in 1759, James Jr., and Hannah Janney Brooke returned to the neighborhood to an acreage and a home known as "Spring Lot." No trace remains of their house, but it is believed to have been located near a spring in the field which borders the Hawlings River, across New Hampshire Avenue from the later-built "Walnut Hill." This couple was not among the longlived progenitors of the Fairfield family. As the elder James noted in the "Brooke Book" (a handwritten chronicle of that family, kept from the time of the arrival of Robert Brooke the Emigrant in Maryland in 1650, through the time of James's grandchildren): "My eldest Sone James Brooke Departed this life ye 21 day of August 1767 in the thirty seventh year of his age and he left one sone cald Amos who departed this Life about three or 4 weeks after—he left also two Daughters one caled Deborah Brooke and the other Elizabeth Brooke—who was carryed to Virginia by their mother Hannah Brooke."[3]

The two little girls, Deborah, six and a half, and Elizabeth, five, at the time of

2. Land Records of Prince George's County, Liber M, folios 456 and 436, Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Maryland. It will be remembered that what is now Montgomery County was a part of Prince George's until 1748, and of Frederick until 1776.

3. "Brooke Book," item no. 1 in a collection of the papers of James Brooke and descendants, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

their journey on horseback to Loudoun County, were reared in the home of their maternal grandfather, their mother Hannah having died shortly after the journey's end.

Following the death of the elder James Brooke in 1784, Deborah, now the wife of George Chandlee, and Elizabeth returned to Sandy Spring. They had inherited, jointly, one-sixth of their grandfather Brooke's estate, or 3,529½ acres, plus 1,237 acres James, Jr., had bought from him.

The land lay, for the most part, on either side of present New Hampshire Avenue, from (approximately) the Brinklow post office to a stone marked "E" set at the entrance to Fairfield. Elizabeth (who was to marry, in 1790, George Ellicott, son of one of the founders of Ellicott's Mills, now Ellicott City), received the eastern half of the property, from New Hampshire Avenue to the Patuxent River. Deborah's share, west of the road, included parts of several tracts: Charley Forrest, Brother's Content, Fair Hill, Addition to Brooke Grove, and Brooke's Black Meadow.

On this latter tract, Brooke's Black Meadow, James the Elder and his brother-in-law, John Thomas, had built about 1737 the first flour mill in this section, and one of the first in Maryland.[4] Brooke described the piece in a resurvey of his holdings after John Thomas's death, as "standing on W of Hawlings River on a hillside near a Mill Pond."[5] It was here, in a log house a bit up the hill from the mill site, that Deborah and George Chandlee made their home a few short years. Deborah's early death left her husband with a small daughter, Hannah, and an infant son, Mahlon (who was to survive his mother ninety-nine years). George Chandlee, marrying a second time, removed to Pennsylvania with his family, which included, of course, the children of his first wife.

In the spring of 1822, eleven years after Hannah Chandlee's marriage to Joshua Peirce, a hardware merchant in Philadelphia, the couple and their four birthright Quaker children, Charles, George, Deborah Ann, and Edward (the future builder of Fairfield), journeyed from near Philadelphia to Brooke's Black Meadow—six days on the way in an ox-drawn Conestoga wagon. With them was a cousin, Ann Brown, who was to be the older childrens' teacher, and a sixteen-year-old Creole "bound girl," Caroline Virginia Roberts, nursemaid to two-year-old Edward. For Hannah Peirce this was a return to her birthplace, to the log house "on a hillside near a Mill Pond," and to her share of her mother's inheritance of the Brooke land.

The day following the Peirces' arrival in the neighborhood, Joshua wrote to a

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4. Dawson Lawrence, *History of Montgomery County,* quoted in G. M. Hopkin, *Atlas of Fifteen Miles Around Washington Including Montgomery The County of Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1879), p. 20. James Brooke's mill is also mentioned in John Thomas's 1749 will, Land Records of Frederick County, Liber A, folio 15, Frederick County Courthouse, Frederick, Maryland.

5. Land Records of Frederick County, "Certificate of Resurvey on *Brooke Grove, Brooke Chance,* and *Brooke Black Meadow.* 1/31/1750."

Silhouette of Joshua Pierce (1781–1863), artist unknown. *Property of Mrs. J. A. Willson.*

member of the family in Pennsylvania: "I embrace the first leisure moment to inform you of our safe arrival at the humble cottage destined to be our future residence in this land of hills. . . . We were too tired too dirty and too much in confusion to get to meeting today & indeed we did not wish to let friends know we were here until we got home & fixed—but I hope we have not been without feelings of humble thankfulness for the favour of getting to the end of our journey."[6]

Hannah's inheritance of land, a piece of about 400 acres, was bounded on the east by New Hampshire Avenue and on the west by the "W" loop of the Hawlings River; on the south by present-day Gold Mine Road and on the north by a line extending from the river to the stone marked "E" at Fairfield's entrance. (Although the significance of that letter is not known, there is the possibility that it stands for "Ellicott." After her sister Deborah's death in 1790, Elizabeth Brooke Ellicott had had some of their joint holdings resurveyed.) Joshua later increased the size of the Brooke Black Meadow farm with purchases of land adjacent to the northern line.

High on a knoll on the far side of the Gold Mine Road from the Peirces stood

6. Joshua Peirce to Edward Chandlee, March 31, 1822, in possesion of Mrs. J. Albert Willson, Columbia, Maryland.

the home of Hannah's brother, Mahlon Chandlee, situated on his 400-acre inheritance which was known in his lifetime as "Brother's Content," but later renamed "Dellabrooke"—the name it still bears—in honor of the first Brooke home in Maryland. Mahlon, who had come back to Sandy Spring some ten years before the Peirces, was to recall many years later, in conversation with the author of Volume 2 of the *Annals of Sandy Spring*, that his first task on returning to the neighborhood was the building of a mill, where he sawed out most of the lumber used in the construction, in 1817, of the present Sandy Spring Meeting House, and where he also fashioned the sturdy but uncomfortable benches still in use.[7] The next order of business, presumably, was the preparation of the material used in his own frame dwelling.

The meeting house, it should be said, and the old burying ground beside it, in which his mother and other Brooke forebears lay and where Mahlon would be buried in the hundredth year of his age, occupy a portion of the "one acre of land Be the same more or less" which James Brooke, in 1770, sold to three of his sons, "in consideration of five Shillings currency to him in hand paid." The land, on which a meeting house was already "situate," was to be held forever in trust, "for the use of the congregation of the people called Quakers."[8]

The same Conestoga wagon which had brought the Peirces from Pennsylvania in 1822 was sent up to Brandywine, Delaware, the following spring to fetch Hannah's cousin and close friend, Betsey Ellicott Lea, and her family, to Walnut Hill, a house that still stands on the brow of the hill overlooking the Hawlings, on part of the acreage that had been the elder James Brooke's bequest to Betsey's mother.

Thomas Lea, Betsey's husband, had written ahead to Joshua: "I will leave with wagon and four horses, oxen and cart all loaded, six cows and 1 bull, one Doz. sheep. When my stock arrives it will make the Maryland Farmers open their eyes."[9] The cavalcade is said to have fed in the streets of Baltimore on the way to Sandy Spring.

Betsey, whose girlhood had been spent in a more sophisticated atmosphere than the country neighborhood afforded—her parents' home in Ellicott's Mills was "the abode of hospitality for all . . . the headquarters for all travelling strangers and ministers of religion," and her mother was "most methodical in all her arrangements"—is said to have been taken aback by the unpolished and inefficient ways of the rural folk with whom she was now associated. Her mother's

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7. Eliza N. Moore, *Annals of Sandy Spring* [vol. 2] or *Twelve Years History of a Rural Community in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1902), p. 36. The *Annals of Sandy Spring*, in five volumes published between 1884 and 1950 and by a variety of authors, is an invaluable source.
8. Land Records of Frederick County, Liber N, folios 462–3.
9. Thomas J. Lea (1838–1937), in a letter entitled "A Few Facts From My Old Storage Box," written to Mrs. Edward N. Bentley, September 8, 1929, quotes from his Grandfather Lea's letter, now lost. A copy of Thomas J. Lea's letter, made in 1932 by Miss Estelle Tyson Moore, Jr., is in the possession of Martha C. Nesbitt.

own daughter, she promptly took steps to relieve the situation by preparing a book for publication which won her lasting renown in the neighborhood and wide acclaim elsewhere. *Domestic Cookery, Useful Receipts and Hints to Young Housekeepers* (Baltimore: Cushman-Bailey) by the year 1856 was in its fifteenth printing. In her foreword, "the Authoress offers to her young country women this Work with the belief that by attention to its contents many of the cares attendant on a country life may be materially lessened." Hannah Peirce aided her cousin in the preparation of the "Work" by testing out the "Useful Receipts."

Meanwhile, the older Peirce children, with Edward soon of an age to join them (leaving James and Ann, born at Brooke's Black Meadow, to the care of Caroline Virginia Roberts) and the Leas' brood of eight: George, Edward, James, Thomas, Sally, Martha, Mary, and Elizabeth, attended school in a small building erected for the purpose, midway between the two homes. Their first teacher, Cousin Ann Brown, who boarded with the Peirces, carried live coals in a teakettle from home to school each morning to start the fire. Her immediate but short-lived successor was a young man who lived in a loft above the schoolroom, his lonely existence alleviated by the imbibing of spiritous liquors.

Joshua Peirce, a hardware-merchant-turned-farmer at the age of forty, kept a Day Book from the moment he started his new occupation until the time, thirty-one years later, when he relinquished the management of the farm to his son Edward.[10] The entries disclose the reason for his well-earned reputation as a successful farmer. He was diligent, dependable, and in his use of the barter system—a necessary way of life in this country community just emerging from pioneer days—he was extraordinarily skillful. The entries also give some hint of the youthful Edward's background, training, and character.

On the rich bottom lands along the Hawlings, Joshua rotated crops of wheat, corn, rye, and hay, and there he pastured his own oxen, cattle, sheep, and horses, and the stock of neighbors less fortunately situated. His farm hands were paid with produce off the place: corn, corn meal, flour, potatoes, bacon, firewood, and now and then with a bit of cash, or an order for an item to be purchased at the Sandy Spring store.

Part of the grain he raised went to the mill to be ground into flour and meal for home consumption, part remained there as pay for the miller. Cow hides and a side of beef to the "Taner" returned him harness and a saddle; calf skins and fresh veal to the shoemaker netted boots and shoes for the entire family and some of the help. Year after year, in payment for hay, grain, and clover-seed, Bernard Gilpin, the Hatter, made hats and caps for Joshua and his boys. The "Taylor" outfitted them in suits of Peirce-grown wool.

In an infinite and fascinating variety of ways, Joshua exchanged commodities for services and services for commodities with the wheelwright, the carpenter, the

10. Joshua Peirce, "Day Book," in possession of Mrs. J. Albert Willson.

blacksmith, the storekeeper, the doctor, and the schoolmaster. For one full year's tuition at the Brookeville Academy for his teen-age sons, Edward and James, Joshua paid Elisha John Hall, the schoolmaster, the sum of $52.21: $10.19 in cash, the rest in veal @ 5c a pound, butter @ 18.75c a pound, flour @ $9.00 a barrel, and lime @ 25c a bushel.

There being no banks in the vicinity,[11] on the occasion when a sizeable amount of "coin of the realm" was needed for a purchase or a project, neighbors and/or kin borrowed from one another, paying an agreed rate of interest and returning the full amount (though not always in coin), within the time set for the loan.

Joshua alternately borrowed from and made loans to Betsey Lea. In 1849, when Edward succumbed to the lure of the Gold Rush, Joshua borrowed $300 from his wife's cousin, Roger Brooke, and sundry smaller sums from others, to pay for his son's passage on the *Andalusia*, a ship which was to to sail around Cape Horn to California.

Edward made partial repayment to his father at the time: "By his ⅓ of wheat

Edward Pierce on his return from California, ca. 1852, from carte de visite. *Property of Mrs. J. A. Willson.*

11. The first bank in Montgomery County, The Savings Institution of Sandy Spring, was founded in 1868 (Arthur Douglas Farquhar, *The Savings Institution of Sandy Spring, Md., 1868–1968* [Baltimore, 1968], p. 9.

in the ground," and "By Fanny's colt (May)." In 1850 Edward sent Joshua a shipment of gold in the returning *Andalusia:* "3 ozs 11 dust @ 17 dol pr oz"; and in 1851: "9.7 ozs dust @ 16.75 pr oz." The remainder of the debt the young man assumed upon his arrival home.

Earlier, from the age of seventeen, Edward had served a four-year apprenticeship in carpentry in Philadelphia. He had been called back to "Black Meadows," as the family farm was now known, to put his newly acquired skills into practice in the rebuilding of his father's barn, which, filled to the brim with the recent harvest, had been struck by lightning and burned to the ground.

This proved to be an historic burning, for the extent of Joshua's financial loss spurred a group of neighborhood men, including Joshua, to found in 1848 the "Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Montgomery County, Maryland." Joshua was one of the first directors. Furthermore, with the establishment of the company's home office in a one-room building across the road from the Sandy Spring store—which had opened its doors for business in 1819—and with a blacksmith shop nearby, there was now a village of Sandy Spring as well as a neighborhood. The store and the insurance company still occupy the same locations, although the name of the latter is now the "Montgomery Mutual Insurance Company."[12]

After building the new barn, from timbers he himself had hewn, Edward stayed on at home to help his father with the farming operations and to erect a new house (presently the residence of Roger Brooke Farquhar), on the site of the log structure in which his mother had been born. He was to gain further experience in the building trade on his California trip, learning the hard way that to dig for gold in the field was less remunerative than to build houses in the boom town of San Francisco at $16 per day, paid in gold.

When Hannah Peirce, who had been helplessly crippled with rheumatism for eight long years, died in 1852, she left Black Meadows farm to her six children.[13] Little more than a year later Joshua inscribed on the flyleaf of his second Day Book: "All entries made in this Book after the 5th day of the 3rd Month 1853 are made in the name of Edward Peirce except such as are made to close accounts standing open at that date. [Signed] Joshua Peirce." Edward was assuming the management of the farm *and* its ownership, as his first entries in the ledger on that March day testify. To his brother James: "$1550.00 in cash for his interest in our mother's farm." To brother George: $1775 by a note payable in one year at 6 per cent. To brother Charles: $1600 for his allotment of 32 acres. (Charles bought

12. Arthur Douglas Farquhar, *Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Montgomery County, Md., 1848–1948* (Baltimore, 1948), p. 9; James P. Stabler & Co., "Ledger," (1819–1820), p. 83, in possession of Martha C. Nesbitt; Benjamin Hallowell, *Autobiography of Benjamin Hallowell* (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 48.

13. Betsey Lea, similarly bedridden, died in 1858. Rheumatism, as any painful condition of the joints and muscles was then known, was an affliction common to many local people, so long as houses were heated only with fireplaces.

back 25 acres at $50 an acre and resold them to Edward three years later at $40 per acre.) To sister Deborah Ann (who had married Edward, son of Betsey and Thomas Lea): $1280, part in cash, part by note. "To my sister Ann," as he always referred to his youngest sister, Edward gave a note for $1280 at 6 per cent interest.

Near the center of the ledger book, now Edward's with his new responsibilities, on a two-page spread numbered 69 (debits on the left, credits on the right), Edward in 1856 entered his account for the "*New House for Ann Peirce*," the house that was to bear the name of Fairfield. Planned as a home for his father and his sister Ann (who, at the age of thirty-two, was considered a confirmed spinster), the site chosen for it was within the bounds of the farm but at some distance from the Black Meadows house.

Work was begun in early spring and by the end of September the dwelling was ready for occupancy. On October 13 Edward rendered his account to Ann: building costs had totalled $1326.48, the exact amount of the note he owed her, plus the interest due.

Inherent in the structure, as in the builder, were dignity, simplicity, and strength. Edward may have been influenced in planning it by various architectural features he had observed during the course of his travels. Certainly the two-storied portico framing the wide front door, the deep-silled, double casement windows throughout the stone part of the house, and the tall, slender, plastered and capped chimneys looked "foreign" at the time to the eyes of Sandy Spring.

Isaiah Coar, a local mason, laid the massive blocks of stone which had been trundled up a gangway from the quarry a few hundred yards from the site. Edward supervised the construction and did most of the carpentry within and without, and sundry other tasks as well. (On the credit side of the ledger he wrote: "To work done by my hands, 181 days @ 50 . . . $90.50. To Hauling Logs &c 67 days @ 100 . . . $67.00.") That he was a craftsman is evident in the well-laid, wide-planked floors, and in the smooth-as-satin handrails of the balustrade along the stair and in the upper hall. Each rail is a slender sapling, of what wood we know not, but doubtless procured "from off the place," like most of the materials in the house.

A dual feature in the kitchen—not foreign to Sandy Spring, but unusual in homes built in the neighborhood after the middle of the nineteenth century—was the great fireplace, fitted with a crane on which the kettles were hung, with a brick oven set into the wall beside it. Even more unusual was the reason Edward included the conveniences; and for that one must recall Caroline Virgina Roberts, the Creole indentured servant who had come down from Pennsylvania with the Peirces in 1822.

At the age of eighteen, when Caroline had earned her freedom, she was paid wages for her care of the two younger children born at Black Meadows. After they had outgrown the need for a nursemaid, various Peirce relations importuned

Caroline to come and live with them—a move the Peirces would have welcomed, for the house was full to overflowing. But in several attempts she made to become part of one or another household, she was overwhelmed by homesickness. Finally she returned to her "own" family at Black Meadows with the plea, "If you'll just let me get my head in, I don't care if my feet stick out."

Now Caroline was to make the move to the new house with Joshua and Ann. But she was accustomed to cooking over an open fire and she flatly refused to try a "new-fangled" stove. So it was to please her, the nurse of his infant years, that Edward incorporated the fireplace and bake-oven in Fairfield's kitchen.

On October 16, 1856, three days after his note to Ann had been cancelled by the completion of her house, Edward married Sophia Kummer, a Moravian maiden, in Baltimore. Free of debt but broke, he had borrowed five dollars from a friend to pay the expenses for the event.

Sophia, "Sophie," was a native of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, born and raised in the "Moravian Female Seminary," in which her father was the principal, her mother a former teacher. Sophie had come to Maryland as a young woman, with her sisters Agnes and Caroline, to pursue the same profession as her parents, and she was teaching in "Mr. Sergeant's School," in Baltimore, when Edward met her through his cousin, a former classmate of hers in the seminary.[14]

A small notebook in which Edward made occasional jottings tells the story of his courtship in two terse statements. The first: "Asked Sophia Kummer to share life's weals and woes with me." The second: "Received answer. Favorable."[15] Agnes Kummer's advice to her sister had been equally terse: "Take him."

Sophia K. Pierce, ca. 1856, from carte de visite by Pollock. *Property of Mrs. J. A. Willson.*

14. Interview of Mrs. William A. Iddings by the author.
15. Edward Peirce's notebook, in possession of Mrs. J. Albert Willson.

Joshua and Ann Peirce and Caroline Roberts were comfortably settled in their new quarters when Edward brought his Moravian bride home to Black Meadows—but not for as permanent a stay as they may have anticipated. Ann, in 1860, having renounced her spinsterhood by marrying Dr. Benjamin Franklin Tillum, moved to Pennsylvania. Edward then sold the Black Meadows house and 158 acres of land (at $72.50 an acre), to Samuel A. Janney, a nephew of Johns Hopkins, the Baltimore philanthropist.[16] Samuel and his wife "Kate," who was the daughter of Edward's former schoolmaster, Elisha John Hall, upon moving in renamed the place "Riverton," the name it still carries.

The remaining acres of the farm, surrounding the house he had built for Ann, Edward kept for his own use; and the dwelling, which he and Sophie chose to call Fairfield, became their home, meanwhile continuing to be Joshua's and Caroline Roberts's during their lifetimes. Joshua Peirce died in 1863 in his eighty-second year. He was buried beside his wife Hannah in the first "family lot" in the Sandy Spring Friends graveyard.

Caroline, the former bound girl, lived to see Sophie and Edward's daughters, Alice, born at Fairfield in 1861, and Fanny in 1867, grown to womanhood. With children around about again, she was in her element, ruling the little girls as she had the children of the previous generation. They, in turn, were impressed by some of her ways: the invariable three groans and an "Oh Lord!" as she mounted the cellar steps; her dislike of having the family cat watch her eat, "counting every mouthful." When Caroline died in 1891 at the age of eighty-five, she was paid tribute in the *Annals of Sandy Spring*, as being "the faithful friend and assistant to the Peirce family," one who had performed "the most lengthy voluntary servitude on record in this vicinity."[17]

When occasion demanded, Edward Peirce had continued his carpentry work, building or helping to build houses and barns in the neighborhood; in his spare time he fashioned pieces of furniture for the home: a walnut desk ornamented with wood filigree, a sturdy oak highchair, small stools topped with a mosaic of varied woods for his daughters, cabinets—whatever need or fancy presented.

But his main pursuit during the early years of his marriage was farming. He raised field crops and pastured his own and others' stock, but on a lesser scale than had his father, choosing instead to concentrate his efforts on farm produce for the Washington market. Like other farmers in the neighborhood before and after him, he dispatched a market wagon to the city once or twice a week, filled to the brim with the fruits of vine and bush and tree and with fresh vegetables, butter, cream, cottage cheese, chickens, eggs, and honey.

At the same time he had in mind a new enterprise: a store carrying a line of general merchandise which he planned to build across the road from Fairfield's entrance. This would be a more convenient location for his immediate neighbors

16. Edward Peirce, "Day Book." p. 80, in possession of Mrs. J. Albert Willson.
17. Moore, *Annals of Sandy Spring*, 2: 222.

than the stores they now patronized, one each in Brookeville, Triadelphia,[18] Sandy Spring, Mechanicsville (Olney), and, most recently, at Porter's Corner (Ashton).

Edward's cousin, Charles Augustus Iddings, of "Riverside" (in Brinklow), who was a keen observer and chronicler of all newsworthy events within the far-flung boundaries of the Sandy Spring neighborhood, had noted in his Journal, in 1860, the erection of the store at Porter's Corner, "put up so suddenly that horses are afraid of it, thinking, no doubt, that it came there of its own accord and has the power of motion." The entry in his journal for August 21, 1864, merely mentions, "E. Peirce & Company's new store which they have named Brighton."[19]

The Peirce family had conferred the name; Edward was the proprietor and he became the postmaster, as well, the following year when a post office, similarly called Brighton, was established within the store. His supplies of fresh beef and lamb and "mackrel," staple groceries, yardgoods and findings, boots and shoes, farm tools and miscellany, plus the central location and the convenience of picking up mail along with the purchases, made the Brighton store the focal point of interest for the farmers living nearby. Eventually the surrounding area became known as Brighton, and although the store and post office are now long gone, Brighton still shines.

In the first year of her marriage, Sophie Peirce had been invited to become a charter member of "The Ladies Association for Mutual Improvement," Sandy Spring's first club for women. The members were all country women, shouldered with the responsibilities of farm life at a time when the conveniences we accept as a matter of course were undreamed of. The meetings, held monthly at the home of one or another, had serious purpose: "to elevate the minds, increase the happiness, lighten the labors or add to the comfort of one another, our families, or friends."[20] While the ladies knitted, fashioning hose or undergarments, some one of them read aloud from *Littell's Living Age*, *Harper's Magazine*, or *The Country Gentleman*. All joined in discussing the best and simplest ways of making soap and candles and butter; of treating ailments; of coping with an emergency until the doctor, summoned by a breathless messenger, could arrive on horseback. (Sophie Peirce's membership in the organization—now called "The Association," and believed to be the oldest existing club for women in the United States[21]—passed, in due time, to her daughter Fanny, and thence to her granddaughter, Deborah Willson, who is still an active member.)

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18. An old mill-town which now lies beneath the lake of the same name.

19. Charles Augustus Iddings, "Journal," in possession of Mrs. Leon Small, "Riverside," Brinklow, Maryland.

20. The Constitution of "The Ladies Association for Mutual Improvement," quoted in Rebecca T. Miller, *Annals of Sandy Spring* [vol. 3] *Or, Twelve Years History of a Rural Community in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1909), pp. 406–12.

21. Mrs. J. Albert Willson to Martha C. Nesbitt. At the time of the Association's 100th anniversary, the secretary wrote to all of the women's clubs in the eastern United States to determine if there were

Content though Sophie was with the friendships formed in the club, and in her role of farmwife and mother, she had reason to regret the almost complete absence of music in the community. To the Quakers, music in any form was considered a frivolous, even a sacrilegious pastime. (Charles Augustus Iddings tells in his journal of having to play his fiddle, known to Friends as "a black devil," in secret, in the woods back of his home.) To Sophie, on the other hand, music was food for the soul. Her love for it stemmed straight from her Moravian forebears, from her girlhood spent in the seminary at Bethlehem in an atmosphere brimming with hymns and folksongs and with the instrumental work of the masters. Her father, John Kummer, had been a musician as well as a teacher: a member of a string ensemble and of the Brass Choir whose daily rendition of chorales in the church tower had fallen sweetly upon appreciative ears below. Sophie, herself, had studied the piano.

To fill the lack she felt in her present life, she acquired a piano for Fairfield as soon as she was able—but not without some trepidation, for it was the first instrument of its kind in the neighborhood. Looking back on the event, it appears to have been the turning point in the attitude of local Friends toward music—as well as evidence of the regard in which Sophie was held—for very soon she was giving music lessons to the neighborhood children.

In the 1860s, Caroline, "Miss Carrie," Sophie's sister, whose most recent teaching positions had been in Triadelphia and at "Miss Porter's School" in Brookeville, retired to make her home (for forty years) with the Peirces. When, in 1870, St. Luke's Episcopal Church was founded in Brighton (at the same site on which a Chapel of Ease of the Church of England had stood in Maryland's provincial days), the two sisters were among its most devoted supporters. They sang in the choir, the rector having raised the tune for hymns whose airs, if not the words, were familiar to them from their school days: "Ein' feste Burg," "Old Hundredth," and others of German and Austrian origin. Following the purchase of an organ, Miss Carrie became the organist, playing for every church service until her eyesight failed in her last years—she lived to be eighty-one. At the same time she was the faithful superintendent of the Sunday School. Such responsibilities usually necessitated her walking to and from the church twice on Sunday. (As with the Association, membership in the church and participation as wholehearted as Miss Carrie's have been continuous on the part of the Fairfield family.)

Meanwhile, in this home in whch the value of useful learning was a Quaker, Moravian, and Episcopalian precept, with public education in the neighborhood not considered superior at the time, and with Aunt Carrie available and eager to be teacher, the little Peirce daughters, Alice and Fanny, and several neighbor

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any older than the Association. She learned that one club in Massachusetts and one in Ohio had been founded prior to 1856, but neither had been continuously in existence since that time, whereas the Association has met monthly and without a break from the time of its founding.

Pierce family group at Fairfield, 1870, from old photo. *Property of Mrs. J. A. Willson.*

children ("three Mary's, two Sally's and a John"), were taught their lessons, seated around the table in the Fairfield dining room. "John and I were the same age," Fanny was to recall many years later, "and we must have been mischief-makers because Aunt Carrie kept John on one side of her and me on the other . . . she took me as far as long division in arithmetic, then she started over again; she gave me up when we came to fractions."

Fanny's further education, aside from a winter or two spent with Kummer cousins in Massachusetts, studying painting, was completed at home by means of Chautauqua courses. When the time came for her own daughter's schooling, Fanny was to feel that so much "home school" was not right for children: it was a lonely business, carried to the extreme as hers had been, and caused the young ones to miss out on many good times with others of their own age.[22]

Even as a child, Fanny was adept at writing verses. It was the custom then (and a well-preserved Sandy Spring tradition since) to celebrate every possible occasion with rhyme. That Fanny's efforts were superior to the usual doggerel is evident in the fact that in her teens she won first prize in a contest sponosored by

22. The source of information on Fanny's schooling is her (Mrs. William A. Iddings) conversations with the author. Fanny's diaries, letters, newspaper clippings, and documents are in the possession of Mrs. J. Albert Willson.

Fanny Pierce, 1890, from cabinet photo by Philips of Philadelphia. *Property of Mrs. J. A. Willson.*

the *Farm Journal* for a poem entitled "The Farmer's Wife." The same magazine published several more of her poems through the years, each one a reflection of some aspect of country living or of her own life.

Fanny and William A. Iddings were married in 1894, in Fairfield, and here they returned after a few months in Virginia to take up what was to be their lifelong profession of weaving carpets, rugs, and mats—with paperhanging a sideline and the hooking of rugs a much later accomplishment.[23] A small building, connected

23. We like to think "The Sausage Mill," which Fanny composed after her marriage to "Will," was the story of his courtship.

He courted her in April
When the air was fresh and still,
And they hunted for arbutus
In the wood-lot on the hill.
She was just as sweet and rosy
As the flowers in her hand,
But her heart was like a millstone,
And she wouldn't understand.

He courted her in August
In the stifling summer heat;
He brought her pears and apples,
And she still looked pink and sweet.
He took her driving, boating,
He was always right at hand,

to the main house by a covered passageway, was built especially for them as a place in which to operate their looms.

The weaving enterprise, at the outset, was primarily Fanny's and Will's, but in the preparation of the materials the whole household, young and old, took part. The outworn garments and remnants of old rugs, which everyone in the thrifty neighborhood saved for the purpose, had first to be dyed in pleasing colors, then torn into strips, sewn end to end and wound into balls. (If, as sometimes happened, these preliminary steps were taken in the home of a family who had placed an order for an Iddings' rug, the lady of the house usually invited her friends in for the "rag sewing," a social event similar to a quilting bee.)

The task of threading the looms, figuring out the patterns and number of threads required for each variation, most often fell to Fanny. Although she had been stumped by long division and fractions as a child, she could solve these problems in her head faster than either her sister Alice or Will (who were both good in arithmetic) could solve them on paper.

When the finished product had been cut from the loom, there remained the question of what to do with the "thrums," the fringe of warp-threads left on the loom after the web has been cut away. "Waste not, want not." Here again was work for hands of all ages: wadding the stuff into grease-balls for cleaning skillets, into padding for potholders and cushions—the possibilities for use were limited only by the imagination and the dexterity of fingers.

Deborah Alice, daughter of Fanny and Will Iddings, was born at Fairfield on November 21, 1896, with Will's father, Dr. C. Edward Iddings, in attendance. As Fanny's time drew near, we have been told, the elderly doctor paid overnight visits at the house, his arrival, shortly before dusk each afternoon from his home in Sandy Spring village, heralded long before his appearance by sounds carried

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But her heart was like a millstone
And she wouldn't understand.

But when the days grew shorter
And the winter wind blew chill,
Then he helped her folks to "butcher,"
And he turned the sausage mill.
She fed, and he kept turning,
And he watched her on the sly,
Till she grew a trifle pinker,
And she couldn't meet his eye.

And her hard heart was entangled
As the knives went round and round,
And it came out even softer
Than the sausage that was ground.
He saw her sweet confusion
And it made his heart stand still,
For he knew that he had won her
While he turned the sausage mill.

from afar in the crisp country air. The ear of one who impatiently waited his coming caught first the staccato of hooves striking the wooden-floored Hawlings River bridge and the simultaneous rumble, like thunder, of the planking; then marked the slow ascent of the hill beyond by the rattle of stones in the roadbed; keeping pace with the doctor's approach by the insistent crunch of hoof on stone until, at last, he was seen astride his horse at the head of Fairfield lane. Erect, with the military bearing that befitted a former surgeon in the Union Army, his long black cape blown about him in the wind, he would jog toward the house. And there, having found all in good order, when the supper hour was over, he would sit before the fire with Fanny's father, Edward Peirce, his comrade of the Gold Rush days, the two old gentlemen reliving their shared adventures far into the night.

In this home, imbued with an amicable blend of the Quaker faith and the Moravian and Episcopal doctrines, Deborah Iddings's childhood was not a lonely one, in spite of the fact she was an only child among several adults. When her parents were at work in the weaving room, there was always someone, either Grandfather or Grandmother Peirce, or Great-aunt Carrie Kummer or Aunt Alice Peirce, to read to the little girl or tell her stories, to lend a kindly hand. When she tired of her own playthings, there were the games and dolls and tea sets from previous generations to enjoy, and a Victorian doll house complete with furniture of several periods: a cast-iron stove with lids that lifted in the kitchen, a grand piano with tinkling ivory keys in the parlor, and in the rooms upstairs, sleigh beds and tiny bureaus with pull-out drawers.

Deborah remembers daytime walks across the fields and through the woods with her tall, bearded Grandfather Peirce; starry nights when he pointed out to her and named the constellations. She learned that, coupled with his interest in astronomy and all scientific matters, was the firm belief that after death all the secrets of the universe would be made clear to him. Her Grandmother Peirce, on the other hand, was serene in the expectation of some day being reunited with all her loved ones.

Edward Peirce died at the age of 96, shortly after he and his wife had celebrated sixty years of sharing life's weals and woes. Sophia lived two months and two days past her 104th birthday, "her active mind unimpaired, her spirit serene and cheerful." [24]

It is the privilege of grandparents to look the other way or turn a deaf ear on a naughty child; not so an aunt on whom falls some of the care of the child. "Aunt Alice Peirce did much toward my upbringing, often setting me back on my heels when I needed it," Deborah recalls. "She made most of my clothes when I was little and helped me later to sew for myself. Although she took part in preparing the rags for rugs and in winding material for mats, she did not consider the weaving her business: 'that was Will and Fanny's affair.' The house, especially

24. Mary Moore Thomas and Annie B. Kirk, *Annals of Sandy Spring* [vol. 4] *Or, Twenty Years History of a Rural Community in Maryland* (Westminster, Maryland, 1929), Part 2, pp. 559–61.

the kitchen, was *her* territory; the rest of us could help but the meals were of her planning." [25]

When the time came for Deborah's schooling, the family was in agreement that public school among her contemporaries, was the place for her, not school at home. She attended first a small one-room school which stood opposite St. Luke's Church in Brighton, going from there to "Sherwood" in Sandy Spring about the time it ceased being a Friends' school but was still under their influence. For years she drove to and from Sherwood with neighbor children in their horse-and-buggy, and she remembers, with some amusement, her daily stint of reading aloud throughout the journey, from Dickens or *The St. Nicholas Magazine*, to keep the brother and sister from scrapping.

"Deb," as she was known to her classmates, was in the midst of everything that went on at Sherwood. She did well in her studies, played on the tennis team, rooted for the boys' basketball and baseball teams, attended dances and picnics. She shared, with faculty and students alike, a deep-seated devotion to the school. Sherwood was, they felt, "the best place on earth."

After graduation and a summer course in educational methods, Deb, at the age of eighteen, followed in the footsteps of her Kummer forebears and became a teacher. She was teaching first grade in a public school in Baltimore in 1926 (having qualified for the position through numerous summer and winter courses sandwiched between her regular schedule), when she married Albert Willson. "Al," a distant cousin, his roots, like hers, deep in Montgomery County soil, was at that time and for some years to come employed in Ellicott City by the Donut Corporation of America.

Deb continued to teach in the Baltimore schools until 1940, at which time—history again repeating itself—she and Al came to Fairfield to make their home in order to care for the aging, but by no means inactive members of the family: Father and Mother Iddings and Aunt Alice Peirce.

With Deb at the helm, and more often at the loom now than her parents, the old house hummed with the pursuit of dedicated interests in weaving room and garden, in the church, the Association, and community projects in Brighton and Sandy Spring. Al proved as truly a son of the house as if born to it: in his philosophy, his delight in good books, and his ingenuity in "fixing" things, in his devoted attention to his elderly in-laws and to the care and maintenance of the place.

Will and Fanny Iddings, without abandoning their weaving, had found fresh challenge in hooking rugs. The burlap, on which Mrs. Iddings had sketched or pinned a pattern of her own designing, was secured in a quilting frame set up vertically. This enabled the two to work before it, one filling in the background, the other the design. As a part of the rug was completed it was wound around a beam, leaving in its wake an unfurrowed field of burlap into which to plunge their

25. Mrs. J. Albert Willson (Deborah) to the author, 1973.

hooks. Similarly, as each day of the nearing-sixty years husband and wife had worked side by side ended, the next morning offered them new interests. Or, as happened with the discovery of treasure in the attic, with the revival of a long-dormant interest.

The old house had reluctantly disclosed the secret when a re-roofing job laid bare a cache of relics of inestimable historic and sentimental value, stashed away under the eaves. (Who had hidden the treasure? Certainly one or another, or perhaps all three of the Kummer sisters, Sophie, Agnes and Caroline; for the relics were of their parents' time and their own in the seminary at Bethlehem.) Along with portraits, paintings, exquisite needlework, silver utensils and tableware, and the garments of another day and way of life, were packets of letters and the diary of the Kummer sisters' mother, born Sarah Hinchcliffe.

In Miss Hinchcliffe's diary, written in 1817, she had recorded her day-to-day adventures as a young woman, traveling without escort, on a sailing vessel bound from England to America.[26] Her purpose in coming to this country was to teach in the female seminary in Bethlehem, but subsequent letters reveal that she had not been overlong in the role when it was ordained, "by lot" cast by the Elders of the Moravian Church, that Sarah should marry another teacher in the school, the musician John Kummer.[27]

The letters the young people exchanged on the subject of their possible marriage (for the ultimate decision rested with them), must surely have blistered the hand of the bearer who served as the go-between. Sarah's were scorching in her indignation at being "thrown" at John; John's burned with desire. Needless to say, he won her, and theirs was a happy lot.

Another packet of letters, which contained correspondence of a more official nature written after John Kummer had become the principal of the seminary, was to prove a valuable supplement to the known history of the Moravians in this country. The treasure-find at Fairfield, in sparking a renewed and sustained contact with the Moravian community in Bethlehem, led to the enrichment of their museum, the while the homefolks enjoyed stimulating new friendships.

In the hundredth-anniversary-year of the building of Fairfield, Alice Peirce, always diminutive, now birdlike at ninety-six, deaf and nearly blind, died in the house in which she was born. Gentle William Iddings, ninety-two, died on All Saints Day in 1958.

It was in the years between the time of her husband's death and her own, which occurred in her ninety-eighth year, on Maryland Day 1965, that we knew Fanny Peirce Iddings best and heard from her lips the greater part of what has been told here. Almost any morning, or in the afternoon after her nap, one was sure of finding the lady, bright-eyed and youthful in appearance, seated on a beautiful

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26. Sarah Hinchcliffe, "Diary," in possession of Mrs. J. Albert Willson.
27. Correspondence between Sarah Hinchcliffe and John Kummer, in possession of Mrs. J. Albert Willson.

old settee in Fairfield's living room. Her hands were always busy, perhaps rewinding into balls the skeins of twist Deb used in turning out countless dozens of table mats on the loom in the weaving room. More often she was engaged in hooking a small rug, a chair cushion, or a wall hanging; the cumbersome quilting frame of other days replaced by a rectangular embroidery frame mounted on a tripod, which her Aunt Agnes Kummer had brought from France long years before. Mrs. Iddings, the puny infant of whom Aunt Agnes had said despairingly, "Soph'll never raise that child!" was presently earning enough from the sale of her handiwork to pay her full share of the household expenses. When the stint she had set herself was accomplished, it was pushed to one side, in readiness for the tea-things Deb was bringing in.

Conversation over the teacups (a foursome around the table if Al was free), covered a variety of subjects and a span of time, for this was a family with active interests and well-stored minds; and, added to Mrs. Iddings own memories of nearly a century, were her recollections of tales her parents had told her. One had the feeling of stepping back and back in time.

But it was her reminiscences of Fairfield that a visitor relished most, word-pictures bright as the mosaic of stitches held in the embroidery frame: of the life within this house in which she was born and had spent all but a few months of her own life, in which she had received her schooling, had married and given birth to a daughter; and where the home industry she and Will Iddings had inaugurated shortly after their marriage in 1894 had been continued through all of their years together (and beyond their time, until 1968, when Fairfield was sold).

In the course of the telling—as if the old house were strumming an obbligato to her words—one seemed to hear from the walls themselves the sounds of music and laughter, and sometimes laughter tinged with tears, mingling with the thump of the loom and the voices of children, at lessons or at play.

Mrs. Iddings had continued to write now and again, when mood or the occasion prompted, composing in 1956 a tender poem to her sister Alice, and in 1957 a set of verses in celebration of the centennial of the Association (supplementing those she had written for the seventy-fifth birthday of this oldest of women's clubs). In 1963, at the age of ninety-six, she dictated to her daughter several pages of her memories of St. Luke's Church which extended back almost to its establishment in 1870.

> My first recollections of the church services are of sitting with my mother in very nearly the same seat that I now occupy. Mother had a very sweet voice and I loved to hear her sing. The first words in the service that I remember were, "Not only with our lips but in our lives," and I thought that means to be good and not to talk about it. . . . [28]

28. Deborah Iddings Willson and Elizabeth Iddings Cook, *A Short History of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Brighton, Maryland.* (n.p., 1970), pp. 7–11.

To the students of gerontology who came to Fairfield seeking an explanation for the remarkable old age attained by the members of the household (an average surpassing all others in a neighborhood noted for its long-lived inhabitants), Mrs. Iddings had given a significant hint, albeit indirectly. Writing in the Fall 1960 issue of *The Shuttle*, a weaving magazine, on the subject, "What To Do With The Thrums"—those fringes of yarn left on the loom-beam when the web has been cut—she had followed her several suggestions for the thrifty use of the otherwise waste material with the comment: "In our case there has always been an old person in the family who was no longer able to work and was only too glad to have something to do to pass the time and to feel that they were doing something useful."

Whatever the full secret of the serene old age achieved at Fairfield, house and household shared it alike, as they had shared from the beginning an inherent strength and an indomitable spirit. Albert Willson was eighty-five when he and Deborah, with the courage and grace of their pioneer forebears, departed from their home to become first-year residents of Columbia, Maryland. They left behind no ghosts at Fairfield, for ghosts lack peace of mind.

SIDELIGHTS

Count de Benyowsky and "The Star-Spangled Banner"

LILLIAN BAYLY MARKS

THE FIRST PUBLICLY ADVERTISED RENDITION OF "THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER," under that title, was in conjunction with the performance of a play *Count de Benyowsky* at the Baltimore Theater on Holliday Street, Baltimore, on October 19, 1814.[1] Possibly the audience on that memorable occasion was as much interested in hearing the new song commemorating "the Gallant Defence of Fort McHenry" (before a newly designed back-drop depicting the Battle of Lake Champlain)[2] as in seeing the play. Despite its billing as "an Historical Play," probably few present were aware that the hero of the piece, Count de Benyowsky, was an actual person who thirty years earlier spent considerable time in Baltimore.

Count Maritius Augustus de Benyowsky (1741–1786) was a Hungarian soldier of fortune and adventurer. He fought for the Poles in their war against Russia in 1768, and became acquainted with Count Casimir de Pulaski, ill-fated hero of the American Revolution. In 1771 he conducted a voyage of exploration to the Orient, visiting China and Formosa. Returning to Europe, in 1772 the Count was commissioned by King Louis XV of France to form a colony on Madagascar, but his efforts to establish a permanent settlement on that island failed. Again in Europe, in 1778 he fought in the War of Bavarian Succession.[3]

With cessation of hostilities between England and America in 1783, the Count's thoughts turned once more to Madagascar. In Paris and London he was unable to elicit interest in his scheme for opening up trade with that country, probably including slave traffic. He therefore sailed for America with his family. On July 8, 1784, he arrived in Baltimore where, in 1778, his friend Count de Pulaski had raised the valiant "Pulaski's Legion." There he laid his trade

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1. P. W. Filby and Edward G. Howard, *Star-Spangled Books* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972), p. 58.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Maritius Augustus de Benyowsky, *Memoirs and Travels*, 2 vols. (London: G.G.J. & J. Robinson, 1790), 1: i–xvii.

proposal before the merchants of the town and suceeded in interesting the firm of Zollickoffer and Messonier.[4]

The merchantship-owners Zollickoffer and Messonier[5] were not unacquainted with adventure on the high seas since, toward the close of the Revolutionary War, they had outfitted one of their ships *Jolly Tar* as a privateer in the service of the Americans.[6] The partners agreed to back Count de Benyowsky in his new venture and supplied their own 450-ton ship *Intrepid* for the voyage. The vessel under command of Master Lucas David Hellwin, with a 20-man crew, 14 guns and a cargo of 113 packages of merchandize, 12 hogsheads of brandy, 42 kegs of geneva [gin], 1 sugar mill, 1 complete still, 9 tons of sundries, 7,000 pounds of lead and 9,000 pounds of powder, was cleared for passage to the Cape of Good Hope on October 25, 1784.[7] Leaving behind his pregnant wife, Count de Benyowsky took command of the expedition.

After many delays, including a stay in Brazil when the vessel was blown off course, the ship arrived at its destination, the East Coast of Madagascar. Instead of sailing into the Bay of Antongil as planned, the Count landed on the coast, and with a small band of his own men and a group of natives went overland on foot. Near the head of the bay he took possession of French property, including a storehouse, and in an ensuing skirmish was killed by French gunfire on May 23, 1786.[8] When the leader of the expedition failed to return, the ship sailed for the east coast of Africa and was subsequently sold by its supercargo for the benefit of its underwriters.[9] Far from the success envisioned by its backers, the venture was a disaster.

The Count's memoirs (of his earlier adventures) were published posthumously in 1790, and formed the basis of the play at which the first performance of our future national anthem was given.

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4. Benyowsky, *Memoirs and Travels* (London: Dryden House Memoirs, 1904), pp. v–xviii.
5. John Conrad Zollickoffer, born Switzerland 1744, died in Baltimore on January 30, 1797; and Henry Messonier, born in Switzerland in 1751, died in Baltimore on March 14, 1823. Henry Messonier was a son-in-law of the noted Baltimore physician, Dr. Charles Frederick Wiesenthal. (Dielman File, Maryland Historical Society.)
6. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), p. 103.
7. National Archives Microfilm Publication No. 257–1, *Records of the Bureau of Customs, Record Group 36* (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1958), "Collector of Customs at Baltimore: Entrances and Clearances 1782–1824," Clearances 1784–85.
8. See Note 3 above.
9. See Note 4 above.

Guides to Maryland's Past: Eight Society Microfilm Projects

WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

THE PAPERS NOW AVAILABLE ON MICROFILM FROM THE RICH COLLECTIONS OF THE Maryland Historical Society span the history of Maryland from its founding until the early years of the twentieth century.* To varying degrees, these *Guides* under review offer valuable insights into Maryland's fascinating past. The Calverts, of course, were the proprietary lords of the colony at its beginning in 1632 until the Revolution, with the exceptions of the Interregnum, when Cromwell's commonwealth assumed control, and the period from the Glorious Revolution until 1715, when Maryland was a royal colony. Their papers consist largely of official documents relating to the family and administration of the colony and hence reflect a considerable portion of the political and financial history of colonial Maryland.

Although not as prominent in the colony as the Calverts, the Lloyd family exerted considerable influence, particularly on the Eastern Shore, where they became known as the Lloyds of Wye. The first Lloyd (Edward, c. 1605–c. 1695) came to Virginia around 1645, but removed to Maryland four years later to avoid the Old Dominion's persecution of Puritans. He settled in Anne Arundel County and, as its Commander, proceeded to deprive Lord Baltimore of proprietary rights. After acquiring large tracts of valuable land on the Eastern Shore, and with the organization of Talbot County, he made Wye the family seat. Heirs continued to aggrandize the estates and played influential roles in the govern-

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* *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Papers of the Maryland State Colonization Society: A Collection of the Maryland Historical Society*. [Ed. by Randolph B. Best]. (Philadelphia: Rhistoric Publications, Inc., 1970. Pp. 34; [$1.00]); *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Robert Goodloe Harper Family Papers*. By Bayly Ellen Marks. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970. Pp. 25. $1.00); *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the David Bailie Warden Papers*. By Bayly Ellen Marks. (Baltimore: The Society, 1970. Pp. 21. $1.00); *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the William Wirt Papers*. By John B. Boles. (Baltimore: The Society, 1971. Pp. 23. $1.00); *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the John Pendleton Kennedy Papers*. By John B. Boles. (Baltimore: The Society, 1972. Pp. 30. $1.00); *Guide to the Microfilm of the Charles Carroll Papers*. Ed. by Thomas O'Brien Hanley. (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1972. [Pp. 85. $1.00]); *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Lloyd Papers*. By Gary Arnold. (Baltimore: The Society, 1973. Pp. 27. $1.00); *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Calvert Papers*. By Richard J. Cox. (Baltimore: The Society, 1973. Pp. 32. $1.00).

ment of the colony and state. Edward Lloyd V was elected governor in 1809 and U.S. Senator in 1819. The largest wheat grower in the state, he was the richest member of his family when he died in 1834. The papers encompass those of Edward Lloyd VII, who lived until 1907. Despite his efforts to manage the family estates, most of the fortune was dissipated at the time of his demise.

Like the Calverts, the Carrolls loom large in early American history. Scion of an illustrious family patronized by the Calverts, Charles acquired the description "of Carrollton" to distinguish him from his illustrious father "of Annapolis." A leading revolutionary, Charles Carroll of Carrollton signed the Declaration of Independence and was a United States Senator in the first federal congress. He initiated construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad on July 4, 1828 (the same day President John Quincy Adams turned the first shovelful of dirt on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal). When he died in 1832, no signers of the Declaration of Independence survived; he was the last of the leaders of the Revolution.

David Bailie Warden (1772–1845) immigrated to the United States from Ireland at the wane of the eighteenth century. He had an intense interest in scientific matters, writing many essays on his agricultural experiments and corresponding widely with scientists in Europe and America. Warden was the American consul in Paris 1808–10, 1811–13; after being discharged, he spent the remainder of his life there. Although he corresponded with Marylanders, he had no other connection with the state.

William Wirt (1772–1834) was born in Bladensburg and lived in Baltimore when he died. In between, he spent much of his time in Virginia, rising to political and social prominence there. He practiced law in Richmond and won considerable fame there as an essayist and as the biographer of Patrick Henry. President Monroe appointed Wirt Attorney General in 1817, and Wirt in twelve years transformed the office into one of power and importance. He was involved in the landmark cases of the time: *McCulloch v. Maryland*, the *Dartmouth College Case*, and *Gibbons v. Ogden*. Since his oratory epitomized forensic tastes of the day, he was chosen to deliver the eulogies of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams before a joint session of Congress. In 1832 he was the Anti-Masonic Party's candidate for the presidency.

The Maryland State Colonization Society (1817–1902) typified the nineteenth-century American effort to resettle free blacks in Africa. As the state with the largest number of free blacks, Maryland had a particular interest in the movement. Connected with the American Colonization Society, which founded Liberia in 1822, the Maryland Society worked to raise funds for the parent group and to recruit colonists. Between 1827 and 1829 the General Assembly provided $1,000 per year to export free Maryland Negroes to Liberia. That the funds were not used reflected the general lack of interest in colonization. Because of the Nat Turner rebellion of 1831, white opinion supported further colonization efforts. The state pledged $200,000 over twenty years to settle volunteers in Liberia. In 1834 the Society founded its own colony, Maryland in Liberia, whose chief town

was named for Robert Goodloe Harper, a leading exponent of the colony. Unhappily, the residents of Harper chose to rely on largess from the Maryland Society, rather than insure their economic independence through agriculture. After they assumed more responsibility for their welfare, the colony got on its feet and became a republic in 1854. Life there was precarious because of poor relations with surrounding tribes. In 1857 Liberian troops had to be called to lift the siege of Harper. After this, Maryland in Liberia joined Liberia as Maryland County. With this union, the Maryland Society's interest in the colony decreased. Most Maryland blacks, moreover, felt that Maryland was their home, not Africa. Frequently slaves offered freedom on the condition that they would colonize in Liberia preferred to remain in bondage. Colonization efforts ended in 1862, and for the next forty years the Society limited its work to supporting a school in its former colony in Liberia.

Central to the work of the Maryland State Colonization Society was Robert Goodloe Harper (1765–1825), a Baltimore lawyer and United States Congressman. Harper first represented South Carolina in congress, having risen to chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee (1797–1801). He left politics to practice law in Baltimore and soon married Catharine, daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The match insured his social and financial standing in his newly-adopted state. In 1816 he was elected to the Senate as a Federalist, but served only briefly. As a supporter of the American Colonization Society, Harper proposed to name the Society's African colony "Liberia." It was appropriate, then, that the man who named the colony have one of its leading towns named for him.

The John Pendleton Kennedy Papers serve to tie together some of the institutional strands running through the history of the state and particularly Baltimore. Through the efforts of Kennedy and others, the Maryland Historical Society began in 1844. As a result of its work through the years, these significant collections under review have been available for research in Baltimore. Now, because of their national importance, they are accessible to all scholars on microfilm. Kennedy (1795–1870) was trained as a lawyer, yet his literary bent became pronounced by the time he was twenty-one. His model for combining these two interests was William Wirt, whose biography he published in 1849. Like him, Kennedy earned the money as a lawyer that would enable him to write. In the 1830s he published novels of enduring value: *Swallow Barn*, *Horse-Shoe Robinson*, and *Rob of the Bowl*. In 1838 he was elected to the United States House of Representatives as a Whig and re-elected in 1841 and 1843. He sponsored the legislation providing for Samuel F. B. Morse's construction of the telegraph.

When Kennedy helped found the Maryland Historical Society in 1844, the constitution provided for honorary membership. Among the first to be so honored was George Peabody, who had grown wealthy in Baltimore before moving to London. In partial acknowledgement of the honor paid him by the Society,

Peabody made known in 1854 his desire to establish some educational institutions in Baltimore and specified that Kennedy be among his select group of advisors. Kennedy relished this service and suggested that Peabody create for the city a library, music conservatory, and art gallery. The library should be, according to Kennedy, a research institution that would house literary and historical societies, including the Maryland Historical. In 1857 the philanthropist gave the city $300,000 to begin the Peabody Institute that would sponsor his programs. More funds followed and the Institute flourished. For the decade of the 1860s, Kennedy was president of its board of trustees. At his death in 1870, his fine library and extensive personal papers went to the Institute. During the 1860s the connection between the Institute and Society was severed, owing to political and personal differences. The Institute's finances proved insufficient to maintain Peabody's three interests, so the art museum was jettisoned early in this century and the library virtually ceased acquisitions in the Depression. The Enoch Pratt Free Library assumed responsibility for the Peabody Library in 1966, continuing to operate it in the building that also houses the renowned conservatory. With the Kennedy papers in the George Peabody Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, it was entirely appropriate that the Society (founded through the efforts of Kennedy and others) enter into a cooperative arrangement with the repository to microfilm the collection. Fittingly, Enoch Pratt, another wealthy Baltimore merchant, was also a member of the Society in the 1850s.

Two of these projects have been produced and marketed commercially, the papers of the Colonization Society and Charles Carroll. The other six resulted from grants to the MHS from the National Historical Publications Commission. Except for the *Guide* to the Carroll Papers, the pamphlets are fairly similar in content. That *Guide* offers a brief outline of Carroll's life and follows with an 83-page calendar of the documents, dating from 1749 to 1832. For the letters Carroll wrote, only the addressee is given; for those written to him, only the writer is identified. There is no indication of the contents of the 2,035 items. Notwithstanding Carroll's eminence and the availability of data about him, users of this collection would welcome and need more information than is provided. The provenance of the papers deserves mention, and the calendar should note the subject of each item. As long as each item is listed and the writer or addressee given, little extra trouble would have been required to note the subjects. The elaborate format of a calendar is unjustified without such subjects. In addition to these omissions, the *Guide* does not say how many reels of microfilm are involved and mentions neither the cost of the film nor pamphlet.

The *Guide* to the first of these microfilmed projects, the Colonization Society papers, is most informative and resembles those supported by NHPC grants. It contains sections on the provenance of the papers, the history of the Society, a detailed chronology, an extensive description of the papers (a revision of William D. Hoyt, Jr.'s 1937 article in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*), and an index to the film. The index cites rolls only, so one knows, e.g., that manumission copies

between 1849 and 1860 are on roll 27. The cost of neither the 31 rolls nor the pamphlet is given.

Bayly Ellen Marks wrote the *Guides* to the first two collections filmed under the sponsorship of the NHPC, the Harper Family papers and the Warden papers. Both collections are rather small in comparison to others under review, the former consisting of five rolls and the latter of eight. Each pamphlet consists of a description of the collection, a biographical sketch of the subject, a bibliographical essay on secondary sources, and roll notes. This last category is a rather detailed finding aid for the material on each roll. As with all the NHPC-sponsored microfilm publications, the cost is $10 per roll and the *Guide* is $1.00. Sales are handled through the Society.

The fact that Warden had no Maryland connection points up the wise acquisition policy of the Society. No worthy collection should be refused just because its subject is unrelated to Maryland history. Naturally, Maryland history must be stressed, but the availability of valuable non-Maryland material testifies to the Society's responsibility for preserving records that might otherwise have been lost to researchers.

Like the *Guides* prepared by Marks, those done by John B. Boles are similar in design and scope. He wrote the pamphlets accompanying the Wirt and Kennedy papers. They contain statements on the nature of the papers, biographical sketches, bibliographical essays, descriptions of the papers, statements on problems faced in microfilming collections, and roll lists. This last indicates the contents of each roll. In the case of the Wirt papers, the list gives the inclusive dates for correspondence on each of the 24 rolls. The Kennedy papers *Guide* contains elaborate roll notes that identify entries by item and show on which of the 27 rolls items are located. This finding aid, based on Lloyd W. Griffin's 1953 description in the *Magazine*, is far more detailed and helpful than that for the Wirt papers. The Wirt *Guide* compensates somewhat by giving a selected list of correspondents and subjects, and its description of the papers indicates the richness of the Wirt letters.

Gary Arnold's *Guide* to the Lloyd papers gives brief information on the nature of the collection, plus interesting vignettes of nine Lloyds, spanning the period from 1605 to 1907. The series outline consists of a detailed description of the seven categories of papers, and the roll notes show which of the 41 rolls relates to a particular series. An extensive bibliography lists related articles, books, dissertations, typescripts, manuscripts, magazines, and newspapers.

The *Guide* to the Calvert papers was written by Richard J. Cox, the Society's manuscript curator. Not only is the subject inherently interesting, but the author also furnishes information and interpretations that enhance that interest. He describes the papers and provides a genealogical chart of the Calvert family from the first Lord Baltimore through the illegitimate Henry Harford, last proprietor of the colony. The most outstanding feature of this *Guide* is the excellent section on "The Lords Baltimore and Colonialism." In addition to a bibliographical

essay, there is a roll outline that lists the kinds of records on the 27 rolls. Since individual manuscripts in the collection have been numbered and scholars have practiced citing them by number, the *Guide* provides an order of filming that shows which rolls contain what numbers. Then a numerical listing shows which numbers are on what rolls. Like the Harper, Wirt, and Kennedy *Guides*, this one is tastefully illustrated with portraits of the subjects.

When the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1948 inaugurated the policy of making available on microfilm its choicest collection, the Lyman C. Draper papers, it created a new dimension in scholarship. Prior to that time, repositories had jealously guarded their collections, thinking that their value would diminish if copies were circulated. These institutions expected scholars to come pay tribute to them. But the SHSW and the Massachusetts Historical Society, which published the Adams papers on microfilm in 1954, had a more democratic and constructive attitude toward scholarship. They clearly enunciated the principle that research materials should be anywhere they are needed. They did not fear loss of prestige in making their most valuable items available to anyone who could afford the reasonable prices.

As the NHPC began its co-operative microfilm program in 1965, it followed the examples set by the Wisconsin and Massachusetts organizations. The Maryland Historical Society fortunately understood the importance of cooperating in this important venture. These six microfilmed collections and *Guides* reflect the high standards of the NHPC-sponsored projects, and it is also to the Society's credit that it was willing to work with commercial publishers on worthwhile projects, such as those under review. Certainly the Society has benefited from the NHPC projects by being able to microfilm these important collections, thereby protecting the originals from further wear. With the filming, copies of these collections can be used wherever needed. These highly informative *Guides* make research in the collections more productive and are a further worthwhile by-product of the filming ventures.

None of the NHPC-related *Guides* pointed out that under the terms of the filming grant, a copy of the microfilm edition is always available through inter-library loan. Only the Kennedy and Wirt *Guides* mention that each frame is numbered so that citation of microfilmed documents may be exact. Such requirements by the NHPC make these microfilm projects noteworthy and highly usable additions to the general body of research materials.

Notes on Maryland Historical Society Manuscript Collections

SOME PERSONAL LETTERS OF FREDERICK CALVERT, LAST LORD BALTIMORE

RICHARD J. COX

LIKE THE OTHER COLONIES, MARYLAND'S REASONS FOR INVOLVEMENT IN THE Revolution were complex. Historians have variously emphasized economics, politics, philosophy, religion, and the list could go on ad infinitum, as the motivating impulse for the formation of the "country" party in Maryland. Certainly of significance was the proprietary structure of the colony. This method of colonial management increasingly became a source of antagonism and frustration for Marylanders, as evident by the conflicts over such proprietary privileges as taxes and fees which intensified in the late 1760s and early 1770s. One source of these conflicts, of course, was the idea of privilege. Some Marylanders could not understand why one man, Lord Baltimore, gained merely by birth such a lucrative possession as *their* colony. They were particularly angered by the hedonistic Frederick Calvert, who was only concerned with Maryland as a source of income for his dilettantish and even scandalous activities.

The characterization may appear unduly harsh and unfair, but many of the earlier Maryland historians were even more critical. Clayton Colman Hall, in his classic *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate*, dismissed Frederick as "infinitely conceited," "selfish and extravagant," and "a selfish, disreputable and dissolute degenerate."[1] Charles Albro Barker merely echoed this assessment.[2] Later scholars have virtually ignored Frederick. Neither Professors Skaggs nor Hoffman in their recent works give more than a passing mention to him; this is unfortunate. Hall, for example, says that news of Frederick's rape trial "extinquished in the Maryland Province whatever vestige of regard or loyalty remained for the Proprietary. . . ."[3] This is probably an exaggerated interpretation, but Frederick's role in the dissipation of colonial respect for the proprietary deserves more careful consideration. In addition to being a colonial

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1. (Baltimore, 1902), pp. 162–70, 172.
2. *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), p. 256.
3. *Lords Baltimore*, p. 168. Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1973) and David Curtis Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy, 1753–1776* (Westport, Conn., 1973).

proprietor, Frederick was a child of his time: aristocratic, learned even if pedantic, and possessed with numerous influential friends.

It is quite likely that this disregard of Frederick is not the outcome of a deliberate snubbing but the result of the few existing manuscripts relating to him. The famous Calvert Papers housed at the Maryland Historial Society, for example, contain only a handful of materials that really offer an insight into the character of the man.[4] Most of the letters are formal directives to the Maryland officials. There are a few, however, that passed between Frederick and his wife, Diana Egerton, which provide an extremely intimate glimpse of the last Lord Baltimore; three of these letters have been edited and published below as an encouragement to historians to give Frederick his due.

Frederick had a brief life, dying in 1771 when less than forty years old. He had been educated at Eton College.[5] In April 1751, upon the passing of his father, Charles, Frederick gained the title of Lord Baltimore. Until February 1753, when he turned twenty-one, his affairs were managed by his guardians, Arthur Onslow, John Sharpe, and Cecilius Calvert.[6] Even after 1753 Frederick allowed Cecilius, his uncle, to administer the colony.[7] Although in 1751 Frederick had written to the colonists saying that his love for them was the "same I bear my self," [8] his management of Maryland after that displayed anything but concern or interest.[9] He enjoyed the aristocratic life style, touring Europe and Asia, writing ephemeral travel accounts,[10] breeding fine race horses, and, in toto, was more concerned in spending his money than knowing from whence or how it came. Certainly his qualifications for the proprietorship went no farther than his birth.

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4. For a brief history of these papers see Richard J. Cox, "A History of the Calvert Papers MS. 174," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (Fall 1973): 309–22. These papers are now available on microfilm (27 rolls). For a description of them see Cox, *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Calvert Papers* (Baltimore, 1973).

5. "What I saw in my travels recalled strongly to my remembrance the classical erudition I was so happy as to receive at Eton College." Frederick Lord Baltimore, *A Tour to the East, In the Years 1763 and 1764. With Remarks on the City of Constantinople and the Turks, Select Pieces of Oriental Wit, Poetry and Wisdom* (London, 1767), pp. ii–iii.

6. Onslow was Speaker of the House of Commons; see *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIV, 1110–12. Sharpe had been a legal advisor to the fifth Lord Baltimore; Aubrey C. Land, ed., "The Familiar Letters of Governor Horatio Sharpe," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 61 (September 1966): 191–92.

7. Lord Baltimore wanted his uncle to be the Governor of Maryland which Cecilius refused because of his health and age. Apparently Marylanders also expected this appointment. Cecilius Calvert to Benjamin Tasker, 9 July 1752 and Cecilius Calvert to Edmund Jennings, 11 December 1752, no. 1147, Calvert Papers. See also Dr. Charles Carroll to Charles Carroll, 26 April 1752, Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis Letterbooks, MS. 208, Maryland Historical Society.

8. Frederick Lord Baltimore to Samuel Ogle, 17 September 1751, no. 1147, Calvert Papers.

9. Cecilius Calvert was repeatedly failing in his attempts to communicate with his nephew while he was travelling. See Cecilius Calvert to Horatio Sharpe, 8 May 1763, William H. Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883–), 31: 546; Cecilius Calvert to Lord Baltimore, 25 September 1763, no. 1271, and Cecilius Calvert to Lord Baltimore, 1 June 1764, no. 1281, Calvert Papers.

10. In addition to *A Tour to the East*, he also published two books of poetry, *Gaudica Poetica* in 1770 and *Coelestes et Inferi* in 1771.

However, Frederick's father, Charles, was little better as a proprietor and no more interested. In fact the last Baron to take an active role in his colony was Charles, the third Lord Baltimore, who lived in Maryland from 1661 to 1684, the last decade as Lord Baltimore. Why then have historians been so condemnatory of Frederick? Perhaps the answer is that Frederick's moral laxities were more salient than either his noble predecessors or aristocratic peers. Frederick's involvement in the infamous rape trial of 1768 invites censure from even the most insensitive or unobservant researcher.

In that year Lord Baltimore was accused by a young milliner, Sarah Woodcote, of raping her. Although he was eventually acquitted the trial created a furor, producing a barrage of pamphlets and other assorted writings both in favor of and against Lord Baltimore.[11] Highlighting this new-found notoriety was the caricature of Frederick as "Lord Spindle," a character who displayed all the "fruits of licentiousness and debauchery," in *Yorick's Sentimental Journey Continued by Eugenius*, published in 1769.[12] Until recently, however, these rape charges have not been critically examined, having been merely accepted as evidence for Frederick's degenerate character. Hall is almost alone in attempting to evaluate the repercussions in Maryland of this highly publicized scandal. Maryland's Governor Horatio Sharpe, at least, was worried of the possible consequences and forbade the printer of the *Maryland Gazette* to publish any account of the trial. Sharpe said that the trial "hath made such a Noise in London and as You may suppose been much talked of in this Province since the Pennsylvania and other Northern Papers communicated to the Publick all the publishers could extract from the English Papers relative thereto."[13] But historians have not been inclined thus far to probe into Sharpe's views and hence test Hall's conclusion.

Other than this rape trial, a bare outline of his life, and his official efforts regarding Maryland, very little is known about Frederick. Something of his character can be surmized, certainly, even in his official duties. The Bennet Allen affair, for example, highlights Frederick's stringent safeguarding, even after numerous heated protests, of his privilege to appoint Anglican ministers. Apparently, the only qualification Allen possessed to be a rector was his close friendship with Lord Baltimore; Allen had no intention of becoming a spiritual shepherd, but rather making a fortune through his friendship with Lord

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11. The very influential *Gentleman's Magazine* followed each stage of the trial; 38 (1768): 42, 92, 140, 142, 180–7. Horace Walpole, angered by the sensational accounts of the trial, noted that Frederick "was acquitted in his trial, notwithstanding the hypocrites had much incensed the populace against him"; Matthew Hodgart, ed., *Horace Walpole: Memoirs and Portraits* (New York, 1963), pp. 193–4.
12. *The Works of Laurence Sterne* (Baltimore, 1816), 4: 167–9. This particular work was not written by Sterne, who had died over a year earlier. The identity of "Eugenius" has been debated but is generally assumed to have been John Hall-Stevenson, a friend of Sterne's.
13. Horatio Sharpe to Philip Sharpe, [1768], Ridout Papers, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. Hugh Hamersley, the Principal Secretary, congratulated Sharpe for his preventing the development of a controversy over this affair. Hamersley to Sharpe, 28 March 1768, *Archives*, 14: 472–3.

Baltimore.[14] Such appointments contributed to a widening alienation between colonist and proprietor, "country" and "proprietary" factions. Providing more insight into the man, Frederick, however, are the personal letters he wrote to his wife, Diana Egerton.

In 1753 Frederick wed the daughter of the wealthy Duke of Bridgewater, Scroop Egerton, with a complex and financially lucrative settlement.[15] The "pretty" Diana, as Walpole described her,[16] was a perfect social match for Frederick but was anything but perfect in temperament. In 1756 they separated on mutual terms decided by a council of peers.[17] Two years later Lady Baltimore died.[18] One early historian suggested that Frederick began his "dissolute life" after the death of his wife.[19] Although this cannot be absolutely verified, his first known illegitimate child was not born until two years after Diana's death,[20] and the letters concerning the dissolution of the marriage do not cite as reasons any such perfidities. In fact the only reason for the dissolution of the match stated in this correspondence is the one about their mismatched temperaments. Of course, other causes can be surmized.

In another letter there is a reference to Lady Baltimore's health which, perhaps, reflects an inability to bear children, a matter of immense importance to the Calvert's feudal kingdom, Maryland. Also, Frederick displays an amazing lack of regard or concern for his wife. He is continually apologizing to her for his hastily written epistles. Furthermore, his grammar, spelling, and handwriting are atrocious and indicate he did not care to spend time carefully composing letters to his wife. Although Frederick ascribed the marriage's failure to "unlucky fate" and "depositions [*sic*] . . . unfit for Each other," the real reasons may derive from his hedonistic, self-centered philosophy of life. It is not hard to substitute his colony in the place of his wife in these letters, allowing us, two centuries later, a firmer understanding of Maryland's deepening resentment toward her proprietor; this resentment was a main component in Maryland's movement towards revolution. Had he lived a few years longer, Frederick may have ascribed the loss of his colony to "unlucky fate" and "depositions [sic] . . . unfit for Each other."

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14. For a good general analysis of Allen's role in Maryland affairs see Josephine Fisher, "Bennet Allen, Fighting Parson," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 38 (December 1943): 299–322; 39 (March 1944): 49–72.
15. This marriage settlement was purchased by the Maryland Historical Society at an auction in London and is now part (no. 62½) of the Calvert Papers.
16. Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, 9 February 1751, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, eds. W. S. Lewis, Warren Henting Smith, and George L. Law (New Haven, 1960), 20: 226.
17. The referees included James Waldegrave, Francis Seymour-Conway, Sir Hugh Percy, and George Montagu Dunk. See nos. 1185–8 of the Calvert Papers.
18. Cecilius Calvert to Horatio Sharpe, 27 November 1758, *Archives*, 31: 506.
19. Thomas Waters Griffith, *Sketches of the Early History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1821), p. 61.
20. This was Henry Harford to whom Frederick willed Maryland but whose claims were wiped out by the Revolution. For a brief sketch see Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 114–5.

Lord Baltimore to Lady Diana Egerton[21]

[c.1752]

I am certain there is nothing in the world I can Ever love, as I do you; 'tho I cannot to day have the happiness of seeing you, yett I must write to you, 'tis the greatest pleasure I have. Yes there's a pleasure from afar to send Ones kindest wishes, to ones Dearest freind. Yes there's a pleasure, which but few can feel the honest product of a faithfull Zeal. Forgive me Dear Lady Di: if as I write hastily My letters are full of faults, Love & brevity are the only excuses such Letters as these can plead; I will not therefore trespass any longer on my Dear Lady Dis time or patience but believe me, I swear, (Love first bids me do so) I shall never be happy 'till I am by Duty as well as Affection bound to be for Ever your sincere friend & Well Wisher Fred Baltimore

P.S. Excuse me Dear Lady Di that I do not write this over again [but the] Footmen now thunder at the Door & [they] prevent me.

Lord Baltimore to Lady Baltimore[22] May the 13th. 1756

My Dearest Di: 'twas with infinite regrett you made me promise to preferr yr. peace & Quiet, before my Love & tho you parted with me most tenderly, yett know that I have had a thousand Conflicts twixt my affection for you & despair.

You Lefft me in the morning considering if possible how I might obey yr. wretched councel, 'twas very kind off you to call me, how could you then think of seperation from me? My Unlucky stars, my fate, but more than all yr. cruel advice, irsolved me to it, yes my unloving Di: you lett the poison steal gently into my veins; Indeed I begd you would, & that if we must be Separated; that you would leave me as mildly as you could. thus far I've writ with Ease, but now My soul gives way & I have not courage to go on. & yett I must, and swear to you, that the only comfort I have in this most unfortunate affair, is that I think, bad as it is, you will be happier, than living on with Discontent & Discord.

I beseech you do not think my Sister has Ever been anything but yr. freind if you do you, You wrong her much, for she has infinitely lamented our unlucky fate.[23] I too indeed am blameless with regard to any jealousy You have wronfully imagined of me, but you yourself must know we part not for that or any single fault, and (tho it is a shocking thing to say) by long Experience we are convinced our depositions have ever been unfit for Each other.

I should have wrote to you sooner, but when I begun to think entirely of you alone, I found myself not able, & that your Loved Idea still baffled all my resolutions, Excuse it therefore Dearest Di:, Excuse if my Dearest freind & believe me that it wracks me to death to think of parting with you, 'tho we may come together again, sometime or other; I am & shall ever remain Your most loving & affectionate Baltimore

P.S. I beg of you not to write me. & Excuse this Scrawl.

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21. No. 1154, Calvert Papers. Although there is no date on the letter, it is obviously a courting letter. This and the following letters have only minor editorial changes to show Frederick's careless writing habits.

22. No. 1191, Calvert Papers.

23. In the Calvert Papers is a badly mutilated letter (no. 1190) from Louisa Calvert, Frederick's sister, to Lady Baltimore, in which she sincerely expresses her hope for a reconciliation in the marriage.

Lord Baltimore to?[24]

[c.1756]

Sir

Lady Baltimore & myself from a helpless disagreement of temper having had continual Vexations, It is impossible for me any longer cheerfully to perform the duty of a husband without perpetual dissembling of Uneasiness and I think it will be far better, rather than live Uncomfortably and unhappily to myself & wife, rather than continue Undertaking a duty I cannot possibly discharge, to be Separated from her I cannot tolerably and so concionably retain.

We are amongst the many whom neither on Vice or other by Addiction, but only Marriage ruins, wch. provides nothing for the conformity of mind but only to unite the body. it has in my opinion intirely abolished that desire of joining onself to as agreeable conversing Soul (wch. is calld Love) without wch. marriage is a mere Carnal contract & by no means reasonable, to continue so. being beasts who live volutarily and in Chosen couples, are as truly marryd in that respect.

If therefore I am worthy to Understand myself, I think it will be best for us both to be Separated upon just honorable & Reasonable Terms. I am Sr. with great regard

Yr. most humble & most obed. servt. B.

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24. No. 1182, Calvert Papers. This was probably addressed to Sir Richard Lyttelton, Lady Baltimore's stepfather. See Sir Richard Lyttelton to Lord Baltimore, 23 March 1756, no. 1183, Calvert Papers.

Genealogica Marylandia

Maryland Muster Rolls, 1757–1758

MARY K. MEYER

SHORTLY AFTER THE ONSET OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, GOVERNOR HORATIO Sharpe ordered Captain John Dagworthy with a contingent of militia to man the yet uncompleted Fort Frederick, located on the Maryland frontier about halfway between Hagerstown and Hancock on the Potomac River.

The muster rolls of Captain (later Lieutenant Colonel) Dagworthy's command at Fort Frederick, Fort Cumberland, Loyal Hanning, and Annapolis reveal something of the role Maryland played in the war, particularly the campaign against Fort Duquesne. They reflect the hardships endured by the private men—the sickness, death, and desertions —notoriously neglected in latter-day histories in which they usually emerge only as statistics.

The muster rolls which follow have been specifically selected from among fifty-five such rolls to show the names of as many private men as possible in a limited space and to give some personal detail. The original orthography has been retained as well as abbreviations, but punctuation has been added for clarity. These muster rolls, the originals of which are owned by the Maryland Historical Society, have been microfilmed and are available in that form for research by genealogists and historians. The notes correspond to personal information written on the muster rolls, and for that reason are printed at the end of the rolls given here.

A MUSTER ROLL OF A COMPANY OF FOOT IN THE MARYLAND FORCES COMMANDED BY CAPT. JOHN DAGWORTHY

John Dagworthy[1] *Captain*
Willm. Linn[1] *1st Lieutenant*
Leven Beall *2nd Lieutenant*
John Kidd[1] *Ensign*

Thos. Freeman[1], John Fell[1], Arthur Jonston[1], Frederick Glazier[1] — John Ragin[1], Charles Wheler[1], James Norvel[1], Francis King[1] — *Corpls.*

Saml. Marnes[1] *Surgeon*
Henry Hill *Drummer*[2]

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Aron Rathell
John Gorman
Nicholas Charnel
Thos. Wetherford
Willm. Edwards
Benja. Griffin
Charles Claget
Charles Crofford
Nathan Walker[1]
Danl. Henderson[1]
Robert Wilson[1]
Charles Athison[1]
John Conley[1]
Pearce Tracy[1]
Richard Scaggs[1]
John Hunt
John Somervell[1]
John Slater[1]
James Thompson[1]
John Thompson[1]
John Hodges[3]
Robert Gundy[1]

Jno°. Jacobs[1]
Isaac Skagg[1]
George Rinolds[1]
Willm. Wood[1]
John Baley[1]
Willm. Smith[1]
Philln. Crosley[1]
Adam Toster[1]
Henry Watson[1]
John Bloes[1]
Benja. Bodedg[1]
Willm. Cambel[1]
Willm. Collings[1]
Robt. Clark[1]
Leonard Day[1]
Leven Fitzwater[1]
Patrick Fenly[1]
Moses Trimble[1]
Peter Wilson[1]
Henry Watts[1]
James Taylor[1]
Phill. Holt[1]

Joshua Hosier[1]
Philln. Hide[1]
Jno. Linch[1]
Bolsom Carnes[1]
John Linton[1]
Robt. Monroe[1]
Willm. Miller[1]
Patrick M'Combs[1]
Willm. Murdock[1]
George Mackey[1]
Thos. Nash[1]
Saml. Night[1]
Francis Pinegrove[1]
Richd. Pemberton[1]
Danl. Smith[1]
James Scaggs[1]
Nathl. Shellevill[1]
Nicholas Mebrey[3]
Willm. Neal[4]
John Tucker[4]
John Whitman[2]
Willm. Eives[2]

Fort Frederick Feby. 8th 1758

Mustered men in a Company of Foot Command. by Capt. John Dagworthy, the second Lieutenant and nine Private men for the Whole Muster being thirty one days. Besides the Captain, first Lieut., the Ensign, sirgeon, four sarjents, four Corps. & fifty two Privatemen on Command for the sd. thirty one days. The Drummer & two private men in Prison, two sick & two on furlough for the sd. thirty one days and for which Certificates are given on the back of this Roll. This Muster Commences Jany. the 9th & Ends Feby. the 8th, both days included—. The Remd. of the men are Mustered for the broken time as set down agnst. their Respective names for which Certificates are given on the Back of this Roll.

Levin Beall
Alexr. Beall

G. Ross, Com[missar]y.

A MUSTER ROLL OF A COMPANY OF FOOT IN THE MARYLAND FORCES COMMANDED BY COLO. JOHN DAGWORTHY

John Dagworthy[1] *Lieut. Colo. & Capt.*
William Linn[1] *1st Lieut.*
Leven Beall[1, 5] *2nd Lieut.*
James Gorrel[1, 6] *Ensing & Adjutant*
Rezin Beall[1, 7] *2nd. Lieut.*
Philip Love[1, 8] *Ensign*
Saml. Mearns *Surgeon*[1, 5]

Thomas Freeman[9]
John Fell[1]
Arthur Johnson[1]
Frederick Glazier[10]
Sgts.

John Ragan[1]
Charles Wheeler[1]
James Nowell[1]
Francis King[1]
Corporals

Joseph Jones, *Drummer*

Charles Atkinson	Thomas Nash	Robert Monroe[11]
John Blows	Saml. Knight	Abram Egleston[11]
John Connolly	Robert Paulling	Leven Fitzwater[11]
Charles Crawford	Wm. Ryner	James Thompson[12]
Wm. Cromwell	Wm. Smith	Richd. Brown[1]
Robert Chilton	Thoms. Smith	Robt. Clark[1]
Balsam Kerns	Daniel Smith	Leonard Day[1]
Wm. Collings	Richd. Scaggs	Isaac Scaggs[1]
Patrick Findley	Nathl. Stilwell	Peter Wilson[1]
Richd. Freeman	John Thompson	Thoms. Wilson[9]
Benjamin Griffen	Thomas Wetherford	Benjamin Boadage[9]
Robt. Gundy	Henry Watson	John Bailey[9]
Philip Hyde	John Linton	Philip Crosley[9]
John Hunt	Thos. Wilson	John Anderson[9]
Thos. Jacobs	Matthew Field	Joshua Hozier[9]
Richd. Pemberton[9]	George M'Kay[9]	James Taylor[9]
John Hodges[9]	Wm. Murdock[9]	Nathan Walker[9]
Evan Davis[9]	Wm. Murphy[9]	Henry Watts[9]
Charles Benford[9]	Francis Pingrave[9]	John Gorman[4]
Thoms. Lineh[9]	George Reynolds[9]	William Miller[13]
Matthew Goodwin[9]	John Summerfield[9]	Patrick M'Combs[14]
Pearce Tracy[9]	Moses Trimble [9]	John Willis[14]
John Makins[9]	James Scaggs	

Loyal Hanning 12th Nov. 1758

Mustered therin the Company of Foot Commanded by Coll. John Dagworthy, one Lieut., two Serjants, one Corpl., the Drummer & thirty one Private men for ye whole Muster being ninty two Days. Besides ye Coll., one Sergant, three Corporals & twenty nine Private men on Command, one on Furlough & two in Prison for which Certificates are given on the back of this Roll. This Muster Commences ye 9th day of Augt. & Ends ye 8th Day of November both days Included.

The Remainder of the commis'd., Non Commis'd. Officers & Private men are Mustered for their broken time as set down Against their respective names and for which Certificates are given on ye Back hereof.

Wm. Linn

G. Ross, Com'ry.

A MUSTER ROLL OF A COMPANY OF FOOT IN THE MARYLAND FORCES COMMANDED BY CAPT. ALEX'D. BEALL

Alex'd. Beall *Captain*
Duncan M'Rae[15] *1st Lieutenant*
Henry Prather[16] *1st Lieutenant*
Thos. Matthews[17] *2nd Lieutenant*
Burr Harrison[18] *Ensign*
Barton Lucas *Ensign*
Henry Hunzman *Surgeon*
Willm. Garner Doret[19] *Drummer*

Henry Fields[1]	*Sarjts.*	Saml. Harwood[1]	*Corpls.*
Philln. Lindle[1]		Thos. Harwood[1]	
Willm. Leddecort[1]		George Colmore[1]	
Alex'd. Monroe[1]		Mordica Madding[1]	

Phill. Love[20]	Willm, Matthews	Samuel Pickeral
Willm. Vaugn	James Brinkley	Benja. Hughman
Henry Hugh Moody	Aron Love	Jacob Hurst
Duncan Johnston	Willm. Thompson	Thos. Barker
Saml. Eads	Saml. Freeman	Thos. Winfield
James Neal	Robt. Shan	Jacob Lemaster
George Plumer	John Hill	Willm. Meeks
John Robert	Henry Hope(Pope?)	James M'Gowan
Willm. King	John Maxwell	george Teeter[1]
Hugh Grimes	John Litrout	George Sanders
M'Carty Smith	Robt. Plunket	Willm. ginings
Charles Suiter	Edwd. Harkins	Thos. Fitzpatrick
Richd. Howard	James Webb	Henry Price[1]
John Lawson	Douglas Prine	Anthony Simpson[1]
Charles Turney	Edward Mason	Thos. Rhodes[1]
Joseph Reymore	Edward Beall	Walter Enniss[1]
Morris Fitzgerald[1]	James M'Coy[21]	John Thrasher[24]
James Southerland[3]	Willm. Dugan[21]	Alex'd. Brunton[24]
Nicholas Davis[3]	Silvester Hill[22]	Saml. Redburn[24]
James Theterside[4]	Richd. Tarven[23]	Elias Adgate[24]
John ginater[21]	John Sharp[23]	Cornelas M'gaferty[25]
Hugh Carrigan[21]	Joseph Ford[23]	Robert Sapp[26]
John Terrel[21]	Willm. West[24]	Isac Mally[26]
Simon Parks[21]	Willm. Hutcherson[24]	

Loyal haning Novr. th 12th 1758

Mustered then in a Company of Foot in the Maryland Forces Commanded by Capt. Alex'd. Beall. the Captain, the Surgeon, three Sargents, two Corperals, and 39 Private men for the Whole Muster being three months from August the 9th to Novr. 8th both days Included, Besides one sargent, two corperals & Nine Private men on Command, two Private men sick & one on furlong for the Whole Muster being Ninety two days for which

there are certificates on the Back of the Roll. The Remainder of the officers and men are Mustered for the Broken times as set down against their Respective Names for which there are Certificates on the back hereof.

Burr Harrison

G. Ross, Com'ry.

A MUSTER ROLL OF A COMPANY OF FOOT IN THE MARYLAND FORCES COMMANDED BY CAPT. JOSHUA BEALL FOR NOVR. THE 8TH 1757

Joshua Beall[1] *Captain*
James Riley[1] *1st Lieutenant*
Henry Prather[1] *2nd Lieutenant*
James Gorrell[1] *Ensign*

Solomon Bush[1]	*sarjants*	James Tucker	*Corpl.*
John Allen[1]		Hugh Short[1]	
James Reynolds[1]		Willm. Roughignac[1]	
John Butler		John Wilson[1]	
Thos. Bishop, *Drummer*		Henry Wogon[1]	

James Beard	James Tate	James Current[1]
Henry Bishop	Sabrit Wood	Basil Duke[1]
Sabrit Card	Phillp. Conely[27]	Francis Early[1]
Richd. Capron	Willm. Jordon[27]	Jacob Eatrey[1]
Willm. Creary	Willm. Goe[3]	John Falkner[1]
John Day	Saml. Lason[3]	Peter Frazier[1]
John Duncan	Richd. Hardaker[3]	James graves[1]
Charles Dunstill	Francis Spencer[3]	Charles Hays[1]
Aaron Freeman	James Horner[3]	Willm. Hamilton[1]
James Floyd	Willm. Hunter[3]	David Hellen[1]
John Fielden	Joseph Carack[4]	John Jefferson[1]
Francis games	Nathanl. Baker[1]	Thos. Kimpton[1]
James Lyons	Saml. Benfield[1]	John Hellen[1]
Thos. Peddever	John Black[1]	Benja. Labrouse[1]
Sabrit Ruff	Chrisly Bumgardner[1]	Baker Long[1]
Peter Stokes	Benson Card[1]	James McLalon[1]
James Smith	Mattw. Current[1]	Jonathon McDonald[1]
Rhold. Mcgill[1]	Willm. Sadler[1]	Willm. Whittonton[1]
John Mcginnis[1]	John Saunders[1]	Dunbar Williams[1]
Thos. Marshall[1]	Willm. Smith[1]	Joseph Williams[1]
John owens[1]	Michl. Luke Smith[1]	Gilbert Younger[1]
Thos. Page[1]	John Steel[1]	John Willson[28]
Thos. Pearson[1]	Thos. Stokes[1]	John Doyal[29]
Willm. Perkins[1]	John Sumner[1]	Henry Wogan[30]
Thos. Perkins[1]	Saml. Teater[1]	George McGrain[31]
John Powal[1]	Littleton Tucker[1]	Isaac Slater[32]
Thos. Powell[1]	Saml. Ward[1]	John Tucker[1]

Fort Frederick Novr. 8th 1758[sic]

Mustered Men in a Company of Foot Commd. by Capt. Josa. Beall. The Captain, the Ensign, on corperal, the Drummer and nineteen Private men for the Whole Muster being thirty One days, besides the two Lieut. four sarjents two corpl. and forty nine Private men on Commnd. one on furlough six sick for which Certificates are given on the back of this roll. This Muster commences the 9th day of Octr. & Ends the Eighth of Novr. 1757 Both days Included. The Remainder of the Noncomd. officers & men are Mustered for their broken Time as set down agst. there respective Names for whic certificates are given on the back hereof.

Joshua Beall
James Gorrell

G. Ross, Com'ry.

NOTES

1. On Command
2. In prison
3. Sick
4. On Furlough
5. Octbr, 13 [1758] Rem'd. to Capt. Ware's Co.
6. Septr. 15 [1758] Removed to Capt. Joshua Beall's Company
7. Octr. 13 [1758] Removed from Capt. Ware's Company and Prom'd in Mine.
8. At Raystown [now Bedford, Pa.] on Command
9. Deserted 12th Novr. [1758]
10. Deserted 12th November [1758]
11. Killed at Ft. Duquesne 14th Sept. [1758]
12. 12th Oct. Killed at Loyal Manning (sic)
13. Deceased 12th November [1758]
14. Prisoner
15. Killed Septr. 14, 1758
16. Promoted in my Compy. Septr. 15, 1758
17. Killed Octr. 14, 1758
18. Wounded & Promoted to 2nd Lieutenant Octr. 13th [1758]
19. Des'd. Octr. 18th [1758]
20. Promoted to Ensign in Colo. Dagworthy's Co. Septr. 15, 1758
21. Killed Septr. 14th [1758]
22. Discharged Septr. 26th [1758]
23. Disarted Octr. 18th [1758]
24. Desarted Octr. 25th [1758]
25. Desarted Novr. 8th [1758]
26. Killed Octr. 12th [1758]
27. Retaken from Desartion Septr. 26th [1757]
28. Oct. 14th [1757] Reduced
29. Octr. 23rd [1757] Discharged. Time of Service Exp'd.
30. Promoted 14th Oct. [1757]
31. Oct. 14th [1757] A Volenteer Came to ye Company
32. Oct. 25th [1757] disch'd. being old and infirm

Reviews of Recent Books

Arms for Empire: A Military History of the British Colonies in North America, 1607–1763. By Douglas Edward Leach. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973. Pp. 566. $14.95.)

With the publication of Douglas Edward Leach's *Arms for Empire*, the Macmillan Company has added another solid narrative to its growing series on the military history of the United States. Professor Leach's volume chronicles the continuous warfare faced by American colonists from 1607 to 1763. From the beginning the English settlers in North America were beset by hostile natives and European rivals causing them to organize and develop a civilian military posture based on the militia system of England. Leach begins his analysis with a description of the organization, training, and weaponry used by the colonists in defense of their newly-acquired lands. He creates a fictionalized account of a typical training day, and emphasizes that the military was always subordinate to civil authority. Included here is a thorough explanation and photographic depiction of the basic colonial weapon, the flintlock musket, and how it operated.

Throughout the seventeenth century the English settlers had little support from the distant mother country, and as hostilities with the natives developed, the colonists had to learn to adapt their military system to the conditions of the New World. The Indian uprising in Virginia in 1622 and the Puritans' confrontation with the Pequots set the stage for many years of mutual bloodletting. Also, the determination of Spain, France, and England to dominate America further aggravated pressures internal to the colonies. All three European powers attempted to gain the support of Indian allies for use against their enemies. Thus warfare on the American frontier took on the aura of a brutalizing and dehumanizing experience, as all sides adopted methods of indiscriminate killing, abuse of prisoners, and scalping.

When the War of the League of Augsburg broke out in Europe in 1689, it had its counterpart in America. King William's War was fought to determine whether North America was to be controlled by Catholic France or Protestant England. Neither of the great powers was willing to contribute much to the American arena because it was considered a mere sidelight to the major European confrontation. Nevertheless, several lessons were learned. It became clear that there was no real sense of cooperation among the English colonies; strategy and tactics had to be adapted to wilderness geography; and both sides resorted to terror and savagery to accomplish their goals.

The eighteenth century's international competition for power consisted of a revival of European conflagrations with parallel flareups in America. Frontier hostilities saw the English vying with the French and Spanish for control of America and the expansion of previously-developed military techniques. By 1750 the fight was clearly between France and England for political domination and mercantile/imperial command over the New World's wealth. William Pitt recognized the worldwide implications of this struggle and was successful in marshalling the resources necessary to dismember the Spanish and French empires.

According to Professor Leach, the success of 1763 paved the way for 1776 and American

independence. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the colonial wars had worked toward separating the colonists in America from their brethren in England. Americans were not only unwilling to cooperate with each other for mutual defense, they often refused to work with British authorities as well. Misunderstandings constantly arose over the supply and impressment of men and materiel. Hostilities developed because of the British soldier's snobbish disdain for his colonial counterpart. There were even difficulties with regard to the peace treaties. The 1748 treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle returned the hard-won post at Louisbourg and Cape Breton Island to the French, and many Americans resented this. Further, the elimination of the nearby threat of French and Spanish forces by 1763 enhanced colonial security and bolstered feelings of self-sufficiency from England. These and other social, political, and economic antagonisms came out of the colonial wars and helped in "the creation of attitudes leading directly toward the American Revolution." (p. 504)

In general, Professor Leach provides a sound narrative analysis. The eleven chapters are augmented by comprehensive end notes and a fine bibliography. Several maps, illustrations, and a glossary of military terms enhance the book. There are, however, several weaknesses. Leach does not fully develop the social and cultural milieu of America, and while he details the military side of the wars, the naval aspects and overall grand strategy are given little attention. Nevertheless, this book is an able overview of America's colonial military history.

University of Rhode Island JOEL A. COHEN

Battle for a Continent: Quebec 1759. By Gordon Donaldson. (Toronto: Doubleday, 1974. Pp. 247. $8.95.)

The capture of Quebec by a British army in 1759 was not only one of the most fateful and important events of the eighteenth century, but is also one of the most exciting and dramatic stories in the annals of military history. It is a tale that has everything—brave soldiers on both sides, a forlorn attack on an impregnable fortress in the dark of night, and a British commander who was a character right out of Dickens.

"Mad is he?" replied King George II when warned by a nervous minister of the instability of General James Wolfe, who had just been chosen as commander of the forces sent to capture the French stronghold of Quebec. "Then I hope he will bite some of my other generals."

The King may well have spoken better than he knew for only a madman—or a soldier desperate for glory at any cost—would have mounted a direct attack on Quebec. Brooding on the cliffs of the St. Lawrence in gray magnificence, the city had defied repeated British attempts to capture it through a half-century of imperial wars. Hundreds of cannon frowned from the thick walls which were supposedly defended by thousands of battle-ready troops.

But the citadel of New France was stronger on paper than it was in reality—a fact which Wolfe eventually ascertained. As a result of the corruption of civilian officials who were more interested in looting the colony than in governing it, the walls of Quebec were in such a poor state of repair that the gunners feared to fire their cannon. Bungling also had reduced the garrison to a shadow of its former self.

And so early on the morning of September 13, 1759, wearing his best uniform, Wolfe led

his men in clambering up a rough path left unguarded by the French to the Plains of Abraham. There the fate of North America was settled in a few hours. And there Wolfe met the hero's death he had apparently sought.

Undoubtedly, this is a story that is worth the re-telling. But there is little that Gordon Donaldson, a Canadian journalist and TV commentator, has added to it. It is a tale told far better by Francis Parkman nearly a century ago and more recently by Christopher Hibbert and C. P. Stacey, both of whose books appeared in the bicentennial year of 1959.

To this reader, the major failing of the book is the padding which Mr. Donaldson has added to what is essentially designed to be the story of the Quebec campaign. Almost the entire first quarter is devoted to an outline history of France in the New World that is too lengthy to be an overview and not detailed enough to be informative. With the entry of Wolfe upon the scene, both the pace of the action and the book improve.

Perhaps the best feature of the book is its wealth of pictures, most of them unfamiliar to American readers. There appears to be one glaring error, however. Mr. Donaldson states that French-Canadian nationalists "have torn down the pillar on the Plains of Abraham inscribed 'Here Died Wolfe Victorious.' " Having heard nothing of this, I wrote to the Archivist of Quebec and received the following letter:

> We take pleasure in informing you that the Wolfe Monument has not been removed and that it is still where you last saw it in 1969.

Chevy Chase, Md. NATHAN MILLER

Money and Politics in America, 1755–1775: A Study in the Currency Act of 1764 and the Political Economy of Revolution. By Joseph Albert Ernst. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1973. Pp. 403. $14.95.)

Professor Ernst has lobbed a grenade into the camp of the ideological interpreters of the American Revolution and invited other historians to join him in a campaign to reassert the importance of economic considerations in the struggle for American independence. The "principal point" of his study, he affirms in his Preface, is that there was a "fundamental conflict of interest between the British and American commercial classes. In an effort to protect their right to exploit . . . the riches of the New World, the British political nation was fully prepared to ride roughshod over the colonials. The colonial ruling classes proved no less aggressive or less aware of their interest. They showed a remarkable determination to have a voice in the management of their own economic destinies." While he does not claim to have written the full scale "economic interpretation" of the Revolution which would be required to sustain so broad a thesis, he has in the reviewer's judgment made a strong preliminary indictment of those historians who largely ignore the clash of British and American economic interests.

The sequence of major developments to which Ernst calls attention is clear. First British merchants, especially those in London, relied upon the Board of Trade to advise the Privy Council to instruct colonial governors to follow policies that would preclude issuance of inflated paper currency with which colonial debtors might legally discharge their debts to British creditors. When the governors proved unable or unwilling to enforce such instructions, the Board of Trade took the matter to Parliament which responded by

passing the Currency Act of 1764. The Act permitted the colonies to issue paper currency in unlimited amounts and for unlimited periods, but in the British interpretation required that no such currency be made legal tender for either public or private debts. The Americans, embarrassed by a chronic shortage of acceptable money, construed the law as permitting them to make their currency issues legal tender for public but not private debts. By 1774 the British had given way on this point and in fact had even allowed New York to issue £120,000 as legal tender for all debts. Britain's concessions, however, came too late. From 1774 the colonial assemblies, led by the Commons House of South Carolina, were issuing notes without reference to the governor and council, without reference either to Parliament. Ernst concedes, however, that the last development stemmed not from concern over the supply of money, but from the more general anxiety over the locus of sovereign authority. It arose, he states, from "the logic of Revolutionary events."

Ernst is enlightening also on the relationship between paper currency issues and the exchange rate of colonial for sterling money. Many earlier authorities have assumed, some with outraged morality and others with high commendation, that the volume of paper currency in circulation was a major influence on the fluctuation of exchange rates. Ernst argues persuasively that both credit conditions in England and changes in the trans-Atlantic balance of payments were far more important factors.

The extent of the author's research is awesome. His "Select List of Sources" and his notes—at the bottom of the page rather than tucked away in come more obscure place—include not only the expected variety of original manuscripts, newspapers, and documentary publications, but a staggering number of unpublished dissertations and theses. In addition it is evident that he has combed the state historical journals to good effect. Finally, he not only refers to leading secondary authorities but carries on running battles with many of them, both in text and in footnotes.

Problems other than those arising from the breadth of his generalizations are by no means absent. New England hardly comes into view at all. That is understandable in view of the stress in the subtitle on the Currency Act of 1764 which applied only to colonies south of New England. However, it is somewhat disquieting in view of the title which promises a study of "Money and Politics in America, 1755–1775." In particular the exclusion of New England fosters some uneasiness about the author's generalizations relating to the Revolutionary movement as a whole. One wonders also why New England was apparently able to get by after the Parliamentary restrictions of 1751 on what the author calls a modified specie basis while the prosperity if not the survival of the other colonies seemed to require extensive issuance of paper money.

On a constitutional matter, the author quite often refers to the exercise of the royal veto in instances wherein the proper term is disallowance. The veto prevented a Parliamentary measure from becoming law; no king exercised that power after 1708, although governors used it in the colonies until the Revolution. The royal disallowance had the effect of repealing a colonial statute already in force. Disallowance of acts for the issuance of paper money was not uncommon.

Clearly this book is for experts, not for amateurs. The subject is difficult. Even in hindsight our understanding of economic phenomena is less than perfect. The writing is always intelligible, but in some cases, too often with key concluding sentences, it requires a little study to decipher the intended meaning. To the expert, however, it is an invaluable, long overdue assessment of a significant causal factor in the coming of the

Revolution. It is also a welcome call to consider anew the economic circumstances and motivations of our Revolutionary forebears.

University of Texas at Austin PHILIP L. WHITE

The Double Elephant Folio: The Story of Audubon's Birds of America. By Waldemar H. Fries. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1974. Pp. xxii, 501. $45.00.)

Within a few years of Audubon's death in 1851, several books appeared about him and his industry in producing the monumental double elephant folio, *Birds of America*, but not until now has there been a definitive study of the story of the folio, recorded from the time the naturalist envisioned the engraving of his drawings to the present. Audubon's work was indeed heroic and took several years, but Waldemar Fries's compilation bears some resemblance. He first gave serious thought to this study after his retirement in the mid-1950s, and after almost twenty years a truly magnificent work has emerged.

The study begins with the creation of the folio and the search for an engraver in 1823 and ends with the completion in 1839. But this takes up only a little over a quarter of the text. The remainder is perhaps more interesting because the author has visited many holders and examined auction records, price lists, and the provenance of sets in other countries. He suggests that between 175 and 200 were eventually sold at the original price of $1,000. The last copy to be sold fetched almost $250,000! (The Maryland Historical Society once owned a set. Robert Gilmor purchased an autographed set in 1840 and gave it to the Library Company of Baltimore, and when the Company ceased in 1855, the set came into the Society's possession—certainly one of the finest sets in existence. Alas, the Society was in such financial straits in 1930 that it was forced to sell it and the octavo set to the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, for the sum of $6,000.)

The mystery is how Audubon, a man without any means, could have found over $100,000 to pay for the production. Mr. Fries soon found himself on a work of detection, and he seems to have left nothing out. Here then is a book about a book—which should end all works on Audubon and his superb creation. A work of this nature, with its exhaustive notes, appendices, and reproductions, is bound to be an expensive undertaking for any publisher, but perhaps the cost is a bit much. Since it is a must for any collection, private and public, it should have been possible to produce it for less.

Maryland Historical Society P. WILLIAM FILBY

Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1891. By Robert M. Utley. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973. Pp. 462. $12.95.)

Recent years have brought a welling up of public concern for the American Indian that is part of the ebb and flow of the movement for Indian rights through our history. The public conscience was first touched in the 1820s and 1830s in response to the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes from their homeland. After the Civil War the exposure of fraud in the Indian Bureau, the massacres of Indians by white troops, and the forced removals of more reluctant Indians brought condemnation upon the government and cries for reform in the administration of Indian affairs. In the 1920s another generation of reformers attacked the failure of those earlier reforms and the continued mismanagement and fraud by white officials and special interest groups. Today broad media coverage of militant

Indian actions and articulate Indian leaders, and a heightened awareness of the problems of all minorities, have combined to make the current wave of concern potentially the most enduring and meaningful in our history.

Awareness of the physical, psychological, and economic deprivation suffered by Native Americans has brought not only feelings of guilt and denunciations of the government, but also an intensified interest in the historical background of the present condition. This has created a market for a torrent of literature, much of which is distorted, emotional, or banal, and of questionable value. However, some excellent studies have also appeared, including Robert Utley's second contribution to the Macmillan Wars of the United States series.

Utley, Director of the Office of Archeology and Historical Preservation of the National Park Service, is an acknowledged authority on western military history. In *Frontiersmen in Blue* (1967) he traced the relationship of the Army and the Indian through the period 1848–1865. Now in *Frontier Regulars* he picks up that theme at the end of the Civil War and carries it through the campaign to crush the ghost dance movement among the reservation Sioux in 1890. This volume, like its predecessor, is marked by solid, careful scholarship, a balanced tone, and an urbane style. Seven maps and well-chosen illustrations enhance the usefulness of the book.

The post-Civil-War years do not mark the most significant era in the history of Indian-White relations. By 1866 the Indians were no longer a threat to the success of the United States. But these years witness the final collapse of armed Indian resistance to white encroachment and thus are important and of enduring interest. Several forces—a rapidly expanding white population, the continued spread of disease, the destruction of the buffalo and other game—combined with a relentless government attack on Indian religions, languages, and cultural ways, to reduce Indian numbers, to concentrate them on less and less of their original domain, and to destroy their way of life. The western Indians resisted these pressures and so became embroiled in a series of wars with the United States Army.

Utley deals effectively with the larger forces of cultural conflict, but his primary focus remains the role of the army in seeking to control both the Indians and the frontier whites. He provides an authoritative account of the state of the postwar army, its organization, command structure and mode of operations. His analysis of the army's relations with a usually hostile Congress and an American public that alternately raged at the army as killers and praised them as saviors, are also helpful in understanding developments. Utley adds further insight in presenting other problems that bedeviled army administrators and commanders: conflicts with the Indian Bureau and the more mundane difficulties of supply and the recruitment and training of the rank and file.

Nor does Utley ignore the individuals who fought the wars. Eschewing stereotypes, he candidly appraises army leaders from General Sherman to Colonel Custer. If their individual quirks, feuds, or problems affected events, Utley lets the reader know. The same is true of the Indian leaders—Red Cloud, Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse of the Sioux, Joseph of the Nez Perce, the Apaches Geronimo and Cochise, Kiowa leaders Satanta and Satank—who appear as real men, not as two-dimensional figures cast in an heroic or savage mold.

Utley thus depicts the small, scattered forces of the United States Army, not always competently led, fed, or supplied, beset by a host of problems, facing a frequently formidable foe. The army was improving in quality in these years, but since European

military trends shaped the direction of its professionalism, the army was not prepared to cope with the guerilla warfare of the western Indian. Utley also points out that few among the army's leaders from Sherman to the field commanders ever understood the nature of the Indian enemy. Thus some campaigns were failures and other fiascos. If the army eventually prevailed, Utley contends considerable credit is due to the influx in these years of six and a half million whites and the completion of four transcontinental railroads.

Some readers will not appreciate the careful, detailed accounts of the various campaigns and battles, complete with casualty figures. But the result is a clearer picture of how the army actually operated in its campaigns in the West and a recognition of the relatively small number involved on both sides in most of the Indian wars. Buffs of particular campaigns or devotees of certain leaders will also quibble over some of Utley's statements, for he unhesitantly ladles out informed praise for what he feels was strategically or tactically wise and levels equally informed criticism at what he finds was shoddy or poorly done. Undoubtedly, someone's hero will be found impaled on a sharp and deftly thrust verbal spear.

One of Utley's major contentions is sure to raise controversy. He flatly denies that the army ever engaged in a policy of extermination. As stated, his argument is no doubt correct. Yet those who have read the pronouncements of Sherman and other officers or Sheridan's 1873 orders to Col. Mackenzie of the Fourth Cavalry for a "campaign of annihilation, obliteration and complete destruction," may find his argument too narrow. Others will see no substantial difference between an articulated policy of extermination and one that as carried out in company with disease and other factors resulted in the destruction of countless individuals and the obliteration of a way of life. All in all, this is an excellent book. No one seeking full understanding of the complex relationship of Indian and white through our history can afford to ignore it.

Towson State College DOUGLAS D. MARTIN

Lawyer's Lawyer: The Life of John W. Davis. By William H. Harbaugh. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973. Pp. xvi, 648. $15.00.)

No American attorney in living memory has been held in greater affection and esteem by his fellow lawyers than John William Davis. To a superlative degree he exemplified the qualities of mind and character that distinguish the legal profession at its best. Except for his defeat as a compromise candidate for the presidency in 1924, his life was one long success story. From small-town beginnings in Clarksburg, West Virginia, he became a leader in Congress, Solicitor General of the United States, Ambassador to Great Britain, and head of one of the most prestigious and affluent law firms in New York.

Professor Harbaugh calls Davis "the greatest Solicitor General in history." We need not go this far to agree that he ranks among the highest in an office that has become the top non-judicial post for a lawyer in American government and has drawn some of the best legal brains in the country.

As Solicitor General and as a private attorney Davis argued more cases in the Supreme Court than any lawyer in recent history. The reason is not hard to find. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said: "Of all the persons who appeared before the Court in my time, there was never anybody more elegant, more clear, more concise or more logical than John W. Davis."

Public figures now leave such voluminous tracks that biography has become an art of selection. Professor Harbaugh has assembled an enormous amount of material and uses it with great skill and effect, adding warmth and color through personal letters and extensive interviews with intimates. The book, containing over 500 pages of text and another hundred of notes and index, necessarily resembles a reference work more than a bedtime reader. But it has considerable nostalgic appeal, and some of the self-contained stories that comprise the later chapters are utterly absorbing. For example, Davis's battle against the denial of naturalization to Dr. Macintosh of the Yale Divinity School for having refused to agree to bear arms in a cause to which he might have conscientious objection.

Davis was a liberal as to personal rights, a conservative as to finance and economics, and saw no inconsistency between the two. "Human rights and rights of property are not different or antagonistic," he said, "but parts of one and the same thing going to make up the bundle of rights which constitute American liberty. History furnishes no instance where the right of man to acquire and hold property has been taken away without the complete destruction of liberty in all its forms." He classified himself as a Jefferson Democrat and deplored the weakening of state and local government by pouring more and more power into Washington.

As Orator for the 1895 Law School Class at Washington and Lee, Davis said: "The lawyer has been always the sentinel on the watchtower of liberty." Thirty years later he undertook without fee the representation of Dr. Macintosh in a plea for freedom of conscience that ran counter to the views of many conservatives.

The public often fails to realize that a practicing lawyer speaks always for his client. The views he expresses are not necessarily his own, and are often inconsistent from case to case, depending upon the cause he is arguing. Davis's representation of wealthy clients was used unfairly against him in his campaign for the presidency. But he refused to qualify anything he had said or done, saying: "The only limitation upon a right-thinking lawyer's independence is the duty he owes to his clients, once selected, to serve them without the slightest thought of the effect such service may have upon his own political fortunes."

Among the intimate details that bring pleasure to the book is the disclosure that Davis was by nature shy (his wife Nell called him socially "timid"), and once said: "I've been coming into court for fifty-two years and I'm always scared to death until the proceedings begin." We also learn that Davis, later the epitome of urbanity and grace, started professional life with a violent temper that required the utmost self-discipline to bring under control. During a trial he once struck an opposing attorney, and on another occasion was cited for contempt for throwing an inkpot.

In his progress from Clarksburg to Washington, London and New York, Davis skipped Baltimore. Nevertheless, Marylanders can justifiably claim a considerable share in his background. His mother was Anna Kennedy of Baltimore, and his earliest known Davis ancestor native to America was Caleb Davis, a clockmaker born near Annapolis in 1767.

Davis's mother was an early graduate of Baltimore Female College, one of the first institutions in America to confer degrees on women. Davis called her "the most commanding person he ever knew." On his fortieth birthday he wrote her: "If ever a man was the work of another's hand, I am of yours, and the mental habits you rubbed into me in the first ten years of life went too deep for alteration." He attributed his remarkable memory to her insistence that he "force it, lean on it, and refuse it artificial aid."

His mother's talents included painting and music. She was also a voracious reader and had to interrupt Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* in order to give birth to her son. Although dutifully attending the Presbyterian church to which her husband belonged, she steadfastly denied belief in the Virgin birth and other miracles. She even refused to let her children be baptized, an omission that was later to haunt Davis when he became an Episcopalian vestryman.

The primary appeal of this book necessarily will be to lawyers, but is has much to offer to anyone interested in the period. Professor Harbaugh says he worked on it for fifteen years. It clearly was a labor of love, and the affection that it generates extends to the author as well as to Davis.

Baltimore H. H. WALKER LEWIS

Who Made All Our Streetcars Go? The Story of Rail Transit in Baltimore. By Michael R. Farrell. (Baltimore: Baltimore NRHS Publications, 1973. Pp. 319. $16.00.)

With the publication of this book, Baltimore joins Washington, Boston, Toronto, Chicago, Seattle, and Los Angeles among major North American cities about which we have broad surveys of their streetcar era. For many other cities, large and small, there exist period studies, or histories never published—street railways clearly rate as one of the most popular topics for theses by graduate students and reminiscences by old-timers. Generally, it's no loss that these remain hidden away in typescript, for the faults of the novice—poor digestion and muddy exposition—often weigh heavily. Yet, the same can be said of showy printed volumes, and it is significant that the number of such studies done under the aegis of a name publisher may be tallied on one's fingers.

Who Made All Our Streetcars Go?, published by a local chapter of the National Railway Historical Society, clearly is not among them, even though it is a worthy effort in several respects. The design and layout are thoroughly professional; the illustrations —more than 270 in all—are well chosen and nicely reproduced; there is a good index, sufficient documentation, an adequate bibliography, useful maps, and an interesting glossary. And the price is right, especially considering that it not unusual to find $16.00 price-tags on books of this kind which lack every one of the above virtues. Still, Mr. Farrell's book bears the stamp of amateurism. That word, of course, is not intrinsically pejorative—quite the contrary—and in some ways its amateurishness is a decided plus. Great care is evident in every phase of its production; obvious errors of fact are few, and of typos there is scarcely a one. But it is also amateurish in the popular, stigmatic sense. First, the style: The introduction tells about "writing and rewriting," the blurb mentions "prolonged revisions." Unfortunately, all this wrestling with words remains much too obvious in the finished product. Rarely is the writing downright unclear, but the author and editor must have worn a copy of Roget's to a frazzle, and the narrative often stilts along atop awful archaisms and circumlocutions. On the first page alone a plan is "bruited about," a five-year delay becomes "five long years," a charter of incorporation gets tabbed a "ukase," and we are told that an idea of what something meant is "manifest from the fact that. . . ."

Now, in and of itself, putting on wordy airs is no terrible crime, and it might even be said that the results of Mr. Farrell's laborious tinkering are occasionally quaint enough to be rather engaging: e.g., "There had always been one specter lurking in the background of

the financial affairs. The piper had never been completely paid for those halycon [*sic*] days when cable and electric lines were being built with reckless abandon, and the day of recompense was drawing nigh." On the other hand, something else immediately evident is that often there are *not enough* words. Still keeping to the first page, we are informed that in 1859, the year streetcar service began in Baltimore, promoters had introduced four different legislative proposals in the city council. There was the Thomas-Latrobe bill, the omnibus proprietors' bill, the Brooks-Barnum bill, and the Travers bill. Two had a chance of passage, two were "pretty much in limbo." Why? We aren't told. Who were these people? We are told just a tidbit, about only a couple of them, and about the most important only his first name. Then we are quickly plunged into the zigs and zags of tracklaying, a welter of precise dates, and sundry other minutiae. Here is the second flaw of amateur history—a peculiar myopia which indiscriminately mixes the significant and the trivial, shuns synthesis, and renders it next to impossible to obtain a satisfactory overview.

There may be something to be said for tracing events just as they unfolded to the participants. The problem is, however, that franchise disputes, routing disputes, fare disputes, labor disputes, disputes regarding unregulated competition, and much else that Mr. Farrell spins out in elaborate detail—these occurred *everywhere*. Farrell's presupposition is that the detail is intrinsically interesting. Sometimes it is. But, to interject a personal note, I shall always remember a caveat from Laurence Veysey (who, prior to taking up intellectual history, specialized in the history of local transportation) about the pitfalls of antiquarianism. Regarding franchises, for instance, Veysey declared that it is simply a waste of time to rehash the maneuvering between various interests and factions. All that really matters is how the outcome in any given city was significantly different, and how it was the same as in many cities.

Farrell treats Baltimore almost as if it existed in a historical vacuum. This is doubly unfortunate because in several respects the story there *was* significantly different. For example, in 1885 the manager of a minor carline, the Baltimore & Hampden, contracted with an inventor named Leo Daft to substitute small electric locomotives for the mules that had theretofore powered his streetcars. This, in the words of an earlier publication of the Baltimore NRHS, "has been the source of a never ending. . .controversy as to whether or not it was the first successful electric railway operation." If there was ever a proper place to try and resolve the question of whether the Hampden electrification was sufficiently successful to be called a "success" (it did keep going for more than four years, whereas every previous attempt at this had succumbed almost immediately), it was right here in Mr. Farrell's book. Yet he treats the episode with the most patent equivocation: "This installation. . .is generally conceded to represent the first successful commercial electric railway in the United States. It is true that in Cleveland in 1881, Bentley and Knight had built a short electric line. . . . However, neither this nor any other line can be classified as successful. . .until 1888. . . ."

Aside from the mistake involved in just tossing out the names Bentley and Knight as if everybody knew something about them (and, incidentally, that date was 1884 not 1881), what is most jarring here is the employment of a tactic lately dubbed "waffling." Farrell clearly feels uncomfortable when cut off from discrete "facts" and faced with the task of rendering a considered opinion. Yet, as often seems the case with this book, the other side of his Daft coin is of considerable value. Farrell's diligent research in the contemporary press has cleared up some longstanding ambiguities regarding the Hampden episode, if not any major point of contention. Indeed, this one chapter epitomizes Farrell's entire

effort, which might be said to embody both the worst characteristics of antiquarianism—and the best.

With that in mind, I wonder if perhaps I have been too hard on Mr. Farrell. (He is going to take plenty of knocks from the hobby group anyway, for not including *enough* minutiae, such as an equipment roster.) There is no question that this book was worth publishing. Nevertheless, it could have been done so much better, just by taking care to place events in contextual perspective, and by occasionally pausing to ask the question, *so what?* At one point, commenting on the failure of Baltimore's streetcar entrepreneurs to develop even rudimentary rapid transit facilities, Farrell declares, "It is not the purpose of this book to delve too deeply into what might have been." I am reminded of Morris R. Cohen's observation: "To say that a thing happened the way it did is not at all illuminating. We can understand the significance of what did happen only if we contrast it with what might have happened."

Smithsonian Institution ROBERT C. POST

The Brethren in Virginia: The History of the Church of the Brethren in Virginia. By Roger E. Sappington. (Harrisonburg, Va.: Committee for Brethren History in Virginia, 1973. Pp. xiii, 520. $7.75.)

The recent study of *The Virginia Germans* by Klaus Wust gave considerable attention to the role played by the Brethren (since 1908 known officially as the Church of the Brethren, but known colloquially as the Dunkers). Roger E. Sappington, professor of history at the Brethren-related Bridgewater College, provides here a well-researched and carefully-written study of the denomination. Drawing on his own studies and the work of Wust, Wayland, and others, he demonstrates that the first Brethren activity in the Virginia area came in the 1730s and 1740s, much earlier than prior studies had indicated.

It would be accurate to claim that Sappington's book is the first real history of the movement in Virginia. Earlier publications were either fragmentary or largely uncritical collections of material, such as D. H. Zigler's *History of the Brethren in Virginia* (1908, rev. 1914). The accuracy of the present volume was enhanced by a process of circulation in mimeographed form after 1965 to all interested parties for correction and addition.

Structurally, the book falls into two roughly equal parts. The first seven chapters are organized along chronological-topical lines: "Beginning in Germany and Pennsylvania," "Pioneers in Virginia," "Building Meetinghouses," "Social Issues of the Nineteenth Century," "Evangelism and Expansion in the Nineteenth Century," "Educational Ventures," and "Debates and Division." The last two chapters constitute a larger section; more than two hundred pages are devoted to congregational changes in the twentieth century, with a concluding chapter on church institutions.

This proportion allows Sappington to dwell in considerable detail on the lives of some two hundred individual congregations, noting each change of pastoral leadership, achievements in construction, notable program efforts, and any unusual developments. The material was supplied by local informants and congregational historians, which caused the author some problems of fullness and reliahility. It may be questioned whether all of this detail is worthy of perpetuation in the historical record. Sappington defends his approach in this way: "I believe that such district histories are valuable because they describe the work of the church at its grassroots level—the individual congregation. Also, in this way the individual members of the church are the most directly involved in the

study of history, because they can read about ministers they have known and about churches which they helped to build with their money. And in a district history, these individual members of one congregation can learn what has been happening to other congregations around them." (pp. xii–xiii)

This understanding of the church as building is emphasized by the decision of the sponsoring committee to eliminate photographs of individuals, despite the fact that the text lists hundreds of persons involved in these congregations. Although not so stated, it may be assumed that this decision was taken to avoid the invidious task of selection of certain personal illustrations for inclusion to the exclusion of others. The scores of photographs of church structures do provide an instructive study in the evolution of Brethren architecture from homes, to simple two-doored frame buildings, to the present elaborate edifices indistinguishable from other Protestant church houses.

Fascinating aspects of the history include the colonial New River settlement of the Funks near Strasburg (with relations to the Ephrata Community of Pennsylvania), the unusual person of John Tanner in early Madison County, the otherwise unattainable information on the first meetinghouses, and the tensions of the mid-nineteenth century which came to the Brethren because of their anti-slavery principles. Brethren imprisonment and other hardships under the Confederacy, relationships with governmental authorities, and the story of Elder John Kline, treated here in some detail, have been discussed in print before. However, additional detail is provided; as one example, this is the first recounting of the bushwhacking of Kline by Confederate irregulars to give the names of the assassins.

The chapter on debates and divisions provides information on contacts with a sister church, the Mennonites. At issue here was the proper form of baptism of adult believers. The adventist movement led by William C. Thurman is described, which drew off some Brethren in the late 1860s. The most serious schism to strike the denomination was the three-way split of 1881–1883, which saw conservative and progressive wings part company with the main body. Because of strong leadership present in Virginia, the area suffered much less from this painful sundering than other states. This is one reason why Virginia today counts some thirty thousand Brethren, a total second only to Pennsylvania.

Institutional history revolves mainly around the several schools and academies initiated by Brethren, of which Bridgewater College is the sole survivor. Other subjects include homes for the aging, orphanages, summer camps, and district organizations.

The book is attractively published, with a full color cover, readable type face, good quality paper stock, and numerous illustrations. There are nearly forty pages of backnotes for documentation of sources; there is a full index. The book is recommended as a comprehensive and dependable study of importance for the history of the plain people of Virginia, primarily of the Shenandoah valley.

Bethany Theological Seminary DONALD F. DURNBAUGH

The History of Sharpsburg, Maryland. By Lee Barron. (Sharpsburg: 1972, published by the author. Pp. iii, 89. Price not available.)

Sharpsburg, seemingly passed by after it lost out as a potential county seat, sleepily made its place in the nineteenth-century world of rural western Maryland. It was like so many other unknown hamlets to be wrenched briefly from its quiet repose and made immortal by the terrible events of war.

There are many scholarly treatments of the battle which took place at Antietam and most, ever so briefly, touch on the lovely little town which was caught up in the bloody drama of a nation locked in Civil War. Lee Barron, who operates a museum intended to collect the lore and memorabilia of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, has written this small book in an effort to gather the story of the town which war made famous.

This work is really a compendium of information about the town rather than a systematic history. For example, the reader will find information on the founding Chapline family, the Antietam Iron Furnace, the Lutheran Church, James Rumsey, local businesses, and prominent personages. While the events of the Civil War era occupy much of the author's time, several other sections of the work contain useful material. The story of the Chapline family offers a vignette of the rise of a colonial family to prominence and some power for over a century in early Maryland. Mr. Barron also throws some light on the impact upon the area through which it passed of one of the many internal improvement projects of the early nineteenth century. Clearly the C. and O. Canal brought the town its greatest period of prosperity and population growth. There is much that social and economic historians would like to know that is not included. In the author's defense it ought to be noted that much of the data did not survive, and secondly it would probably not be of much interest to Mr. Barron's popular audience.

The reader will finish the book feeling that Sharpsburg has not really changed much at all since that day in September 1862. Anyone who has ever stood looking west from the Federal Cemetery along the main street lined with its tree-shaded walks and houses of that magnificent field limestone and rose brick, hopes that it never will.

Towson State College JOSEPH W. COX

Book Notes

Defenders' Dozen: Some Comments Along the Way At the Halts During the Cavalcade of the Society of the War of 1812 (Maryland). By Curtis Carroll Davis. (Baltimore: Society of the War of 1812 in the State of Maryland, 1974. Pp. [ii], 33. [$1.25].) Each year on September 12, Defender's Day, a cavalcade is staged in which patriotic citizens and tourists visit twelve historic sites relating to that memorable occasion in 1814 when the townspeople of Baltimore repulsed the invading British. In clear and colorful prose the author provides historical background for each memorial halt, correcting along the way various errors and myths that have lingered undisturbed. The sources documenting Dr. Davis's remarks are generously listed. Baltimoreans especially should find this attractively printed booklet interesting and enjoyable. It may be purchased at the Maryland Historical Society.

As the bicentennial of American Independence nears, countless projects celebrating that event are launched. Several states—Kentucky most notably perhaps—have seized the opportunity to publish histories of their past. An outstanding example is provided by The American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Connecticut. As one phase of its activities, the Commission is publishing a series of brief monographs on a wide variety of topics dealing with the birth of the nation, 1763 to 1787. Connecticut of course will be the primary focus of each study, but the thoughtful booklets also illuminate the American revolutionary experience. The Commission has carefully matched authors to subjects, and the results are handsomely published in inexpensive paperback format by the Pequot Press of Chester, Connecticut. Each year from 1973 to 1980 five studies will appear, and if they all are as good as the first ten, the Connecticut Bicentennial Series will be distinguished indeed. The following are the titles published to date. In 1973: I, *Connecticut Joins the Rebellion* by Thomas C. Barrow; II, *Connecticut In the Continental Congress* by Christopher Collier; III, *Connecticut's Revolutionary War Leaders* by North Callahan; IV, *Connecticut's Black Soldiers 1775–1783* by David O. White; and V, *Connecticut The Provisions State* by Chester M. Destler. In 1974: VI, *Connecticut's Loyalists* by Robert A. East; VII, *Connecticut Education in the Revolutionary Era* by J. William Frost; VIII, *Connecticut's Seminary of Sedition: Yale College* by Louise Leonard Tucker; IX, *Connecticut's War Governor: Jonathan Trumbull* by David M. Roth; and X, *Connecticut Attacked: A British Viewpoint, Tryon's Raid on Danbury* by Robert McDevitt. The booklets vary in length from 45 to 99 pages, each with illustrations and footnotes; they sell for $2.50 each. If more states followed Connecticut's example, the bicentennial would result in a scholarly harvest benefiting both academic and popular audiences.

Index to Maps of the American Revolution in Books and Periodicals Illustrating the Revolutionary War and Other Events of the Period 1763–1789. By David Sanders Clark. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974. Pp. xiv, 301. $15.00.) This is a valuable reference work. The last such listing was compiled nearly a century ago. The book has three sections: the first consists of map references; second, a subject and name index to the

maps; and third, a listing of the publications indexed (this includes the LC call number). The map entries include subject, dates, height and width, and—if the map was published during this period—the name of the maker, engraver, publisher, or original user. Although they mostly concern military operations, there are also maps on population, churches, colleges, Indian tribes, settlement patterns, etc. The only criticism is that the book, published by an inexpensive offset process, is somewhat overpriced. [Richard J. Cox]

The Toll of Independence: Engagements and Battle Casualties of the American Revolution. Edited by Howard H. Peckham. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974. Pp. xvi, 176. $7.50.) Attempting to be the most complete list of engagements and battle casualties of the war, this book's statistics are based on numerous manuscripts collections, newspapers, and published primary sources, serials, and secondary works (see bibliography, pp. 135–50). The work has two major divisions, one on military operations and one on naval activities. The final section, "Summations and Implications," is extremely interesting. During this war, 1775–83, there was a total of 1331 military and 215 naval engagements resulting in 6834 killed, 8445 wounded, 18,152 captured, 1426 missing, and 100 deserted. Estimating 10,000 deaths in camp and 8500 deaths in imprisonment, the total probable deaths of those in service was 25,324 or .9 per cent of the American population in 1780. This is the second highest death rate of any American war (the Civil War had a 1.6 per cent rate). In this war Maryland witnessed little military action on her soil, as the book vividly illustrates. There were only 12 engagements here (5 in 1776, 3 in 1777, 1 in 1780, and 3 in 1781) leaving 1 killed, 1 wounded, and 8 captured. Eight of these actions occurred in Southern Maryland, 1 in Worcester county, 1 near Annapolis, and 2 in Northeastern Maryland. Containing an excellent index, *The Toll of Independence* will be a valuable reference work for generations of historians. [Richard J. Cox]

To Set a Country Free. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1975. Pp. 74. $4.50.) This is the catalog of the exhibition commemorating the 200th anniversary of American independence and the 175th anniversary of the founding (April 24, 1800) of the Library of Congress. It is very attractive with over 100 illustrations, many in color, of military and political leaders, broadsides, newspapers, maps, and manuscripts. Drawn almost entirely from the resources of the Library, the catalog attests to this institution's magnificent collection of Revolutionary Americana. The text is a well-written summary of the events in America, 1763–1783. [Richard J. Cox]

Directory of Maryland Legislators 1635–1789. By Edward C. Papenfuse, David W. Jordan, Carol P. Tilles, Jane W. McWilliams. (Annapolis: Maryland Bicentennial Commission, 1974. Pp. v, 56. $3.00.) This is a listing preliminary to the *History of Maryland Legislators* which will be eventually published in three volumes by the Maryland Bicentennial Commission and Hall of Records. Undoubtedly this will be a most valuable reference source for the researcher of colonial and revolutionary Maryland. Until it is published, the *Directory* holds that place of honor. Containing about 4000 names, it gives the name, county of residence, office held, and dates of service. There are also explanatory notes which point out any peculiarities in the legislators' service. The guide is divided into two main parts, first an alphabetical listing by county and then an alphabetical listing by names. All the offices are listed, including the Conventions of 1774–

1776 and summons to sit in the Assemblies. The only caution to the user is that no effort has been made to distinguish between men of the same name; this will be accomplished by the complete *History*. [Richard J. Cox]

Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century. By Arthur Cecil Bining. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1973. Pp. v, 215. Cloth $5.00, paper $3.50.) In reissuing this monograph, originally published in 1938, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has done a service to new generations of economic historians interested in the development of the American iron and steel industry. The new edition is well-printed, well-illustrated, and serviceably bound. Although his emphasis is on Pennsylvania, Bining's fine descriptions of the iron plantations, the iron workers, and the techniques of iron manufacture apply equally to the small-scale furnaces and forges of the other American colonies. They give as well glimpses of life in workmen's cottages and ironmasters' mansions dotted throughout Pennsylvania from the New Jersey border westward across the Alleghenies. A chapter entitled "Relations with England" sums up attempts by the mother country to regulate and control the colonial iron industry. The final chapter traces the progress of the industry in Pennsylvania from about 1716 to 1800, dealing particularly with the expansion of secondary manufacturing processes during and after the Revolution. The extensive notes and bibliography provide an introduction and invitation to further research and publication of studies on individual iron works. There is material here, too, for fleshing out quantitative studies on prices, wages, and costs of manufacture. [Katherine A. Harvey]

Notes and Queries

PEALE EXHIBITION

A major exhibition of over 100 works from the collection of the Maryland Historical Society by three generations of the multi-talented Peale family will open on March 3, 1975, with an address by Dr. Edgar Preston Richardson on Charles Willson Peale. Supported by a matching grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, the exhibition will be accompanied by a fully illustrated catalogue which may be obtained by mail from the Society for $8.00, including postage and handling. The book may be purchased directly at the Society's sales desk for $7.00 plus tax. A supporting exhibition is also being prepared. It will include portraits of all the members of the Peale family represented in the Society's collection; portraits of the "11 Annapolis Gentlemen" who subscribed to the fund which financed C. W. Peale's manuscripts; and clothing, furniture and other period items related to the paintings.

HISTORY CONFERENCE

On April 25, 1975, the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library will sponsor a conference entitled *Businessmen Confront the Great Depression: Two Case Studies*. Papers will be delivered by Roy Lopata, former Hagley Fellow and currently Grant-in-Aid Scholar, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, on "John Raskob, a Fox in the Bull Market, 1928–1929" and Thomas Winpenny, former Hagley Fellow and currently Associate Professor of History, Elizabethtown College, on "Henning Webb Prentis and the Challenge of the New Deal." Thomas C. Cochran, Senior Resident Scholar, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will act as commentator, and Stephen Salsbury, Professor of History, University of Delaware, will serve as session chairman. Anyone desiring further information please contact Barbara E. Benson, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Wilmington, Delaware 19807.

CEMETERY INSCRIPTIONS

The Baltimore County Historical Society has an active Cemetery Inscriptions Committee whose members are engaged in copying the inscriptions from the stones in all the family cemeteries and church cemeteries in Baltimore County. Many cemeteries have been completed and are on file at the society's headquarters. The committee is especially interested in knowing of the location of family cemeteries in the county. In the past, many farms had family burial grounds, but these are now disappearing in the wake of construction projects. Anyone knowing of family cemeteries in Baltimore County which may not have been copied by the committee or having information about family

cemeteries no longer in existence should write to: William Hollifield III, Chairman, Cemetery Inscriptions Committee, Baltimore County Historical Society, Agriculture Building, 9811 Van Buren Lane, Cockeysville, Maryland 21030.

ERRATUM

We regret our failure to attribute the portrait of Senator George L. Radcliffe in the Winter 1974 issue of the *Magazine* to Mr. Trafford P. Klots. The portrait is owned by the Maryland Historical Society.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (*Act of August 12, 1970; Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code*). 1. Date of filing: Sept. 27, 1974. 2. Title of Publication: *Maryland Historical Magazine*. 3. Frequency of Issue: Quarterly. 4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher: Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201; Editor: Dr. Richard R. Duncan, Department of History, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. 20007; Managing Editor: P. W. Filby, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 7. Owner: Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. No stock—nonprofit organization. 8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities: None. 10. The purpose, function and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during preceding 12 months. 1. Extent and Nature of Circulation: A. Total No. Copies Printed (Quarterly) (Net Press Run): 5,000: B. Paid Circulation: 1. Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors and Counter Sales: None; 2. Mail Subscriptions (Memberships): 4,642; C. Total Paid Circulation: None; D. Free Distribution (Schools and Libraries): 117; E. Total Distribution: 4,759; F. Office Use, Left-over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing: 241; G. Total 5,000.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
P. William Filby, *Director*

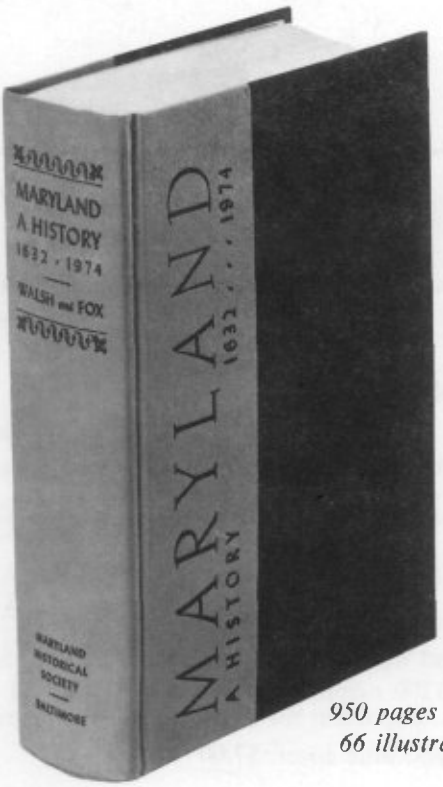
CONDENSED STATEMENT OF GENERAL FUND REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1974

Revenues:		
Dues		$ 47,393.50
Contributions, legacies and trusts		66,054.01
Investment income from Endowment Fund		192,114.12
Sales and service fees	$ 21,750.80	
Less: Cost of materials and merchandise	5,667.88	16,082.92
Library service and reproduction fees	6,242.87	
Less: Transferred to Fees Fund for special salary costs	6,242.87	—
Transfer from Undesignated Library Fund to cover library salaries		458.71
Transfer from Fees Fund to cover library salaries		3,718.66
Use of building charged to programs		2,100.00
Recoveries—Sales of NHPC project pamphlets		55.85
Other income		2,125.93
		330,103.70
Expenditures—Operations:		
Maritime Museum	3,215.47	
Museum and Gallery	49,983.99	
Darnall Museum	14,581.86	
Library	49,328.46	
Manuscript Division	15,630.87	
Magazine	31,213.79	
History Notes	2,679.20	
Building Operations	89,971.75	
Administrative and General	130,134.95	386,740.34
Other Expenditures:		
Fund Drive costs	50.23	
Transfer to Oral History project	3,000.00	
NHPC Project—Society cost in excess of grant	629.22	
Association of Historical Societies grant	1,000.00	4,679.45
Total expenditures		391,419.79
Excess of expenditures over revenues for year—general activities		$ (61,316.09)

Note: The Society has other activities, supported by federal and state grants and by Special Funds dedicated exclusively to such special projects, which are not reflected above. A copy of the detailed report on the overall activities of the Society is available for reference at the Society's offices.



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